





FROM THE FARM

-TO-

THE PRESIDENTIAL CHAIR,

BEING

AN ACCURATE AND COMPREHENSIVE ACCOUNT

296
590

-OF-

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

-OF-

GEN. JAMES A. GARFIELD,

THE OHIO FARMER-BOY AND BOATMAN, THE
SUCCESSFUL UNION GENERAL AND
BRILLIANT STATESMAN.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

THE LIFE OF GEN. CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

By JAMES D. McCABE,

AUTHOR OF "THE PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD," "PATHWAYS OF THE HOLY LAND,"
"THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES," ETC., ETC.

EMBELLISHED WITH FINE STEEL PORTRAITS OF GARFIELD
AND ARTHUR, AND NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD.

PUBLISHED BY 1319 3 21
1380

THE NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO.,

PHILADELPHIA, PA., CHICAGO, ILL., ST. LOUIS, MO.,
AND ATLANTA, GA.

E 687
M 702

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1880, by

J. R. JONES,

In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.

167213*

PREFACE.

IT is the pride and boast of America, that this is a country of self-made men. However humble may be the position of a man, it is within his power, in this land of equality and Republican Institutions, to attain the highest honors within the gift of his fellow-citizens. Our history is full of the names of men who, without friends or fortune to aid them, have risen by the force of their own abilities to the proudest position in the Republic—Washington, Jefferson, Marshall, Clay, Lincoln and their glorious compeers, were all self-made men, and carved out their great successes by their own unaided efforts. Their example shines out brightly to encourage and cheer others who are struggling onward in the road by which they climbed to greatness.

No career in all our history furnishes a more brilliant example of this than that of General James A. Garfield. Starting as a poor farmer boy, without money, position, or influence, compelled to struggle against poverty and ignorance, he has raised himself by his own unaided efforts to the highest pinnacle of fame. The poor boy that drove the mule team of a canal boat is now the leader of the Republican party in one of its most critical

PREFACE.

struggles. Thanks to the glorious institutions founded by our fathers, it has been possible for the genuine merit and true ability of the man to win this great success.

It is natural, therefore, that his countrymen should desire to know not only the measure of the success that has been won by him, but also the means by which these great achievements were accomplished. To meet this demand the author has prepared this volume, which relates the story of the life of this great man. It is the story of unconquerable determination and sublime self-reliance, of lofty purpose and inflexible resolve, of incorruptible integrity and moral courage of the highest type, of noble effort and magnificent achievement, of prolonged and determined struggle, crowned by the most brilliant triumphs.

The work abounds in copious extracts from the speeches and writings of General Garfield, for it is only by an intimate acquaintance with his views as set forth in these utterances that he can be fairly judged, or intelligently appreciated. His record is presented here clearly and without partiality, that all men may see that his life has been free from stain, his services honorable and distinguished, and that his claims to the highest place within the gift of the American people, rest upon a solid foundation of genuine merit and faithful service honorably performed.

The work also embraces a concisely written sketch of the Life of General Chester A. Arthur, the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States.

PHILADELPHIA, *August 10th*, 1880.



GENERAL GARFIELD'S HOME, NEAR MENTOR, OHIO.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY YEARS.

Birth and Parentage—Rev. Hosea Ballou—Death of James Garfield's Father—A Western Widow—Jules Garfield resolves to keep the Family together—Boyhood of James Garfield—Brought up to Hard Work—An Industrious Boy—James determines to obtain an Education—A Poor Boy's Struggles—The Village School—James makes an excellent listener—Becomes a Boatman on the Ohio Canal—Is Promoted—Wishes to be a Sailor—A Fortunate Illness—James Garfield makes the Acquaintance of Samuel D. Bates—Resolves to go to School—At the Academy—A Struggle for an Education—Garfield at the Carpenter's Bench—Becomes a School Teacher—Leaves the Academy—Finds a Friend who helps him to enter College—His Reasons for Selecting Williams College—His Career there—Graduates with distinction.

CHAPTER II.

PRESIDENT OF A COLLEGE AND STATE SENATOR.

Mr. Garfield joins the Church of the Disciples—Statement of the Religious Belief of this Church—Reckless Attacks of Political Enemies upon Mr. Garfield's Religious Views—The true state of the Case—Mr. Garfield becomes a Professor of Hiram Eclectic Institute—Is made President of the College—His life in this capacity—Preaches the Gospel—Growing Popularity—Marriage of Mr. Garfield—His Wife—Buys a House—Mr. Garfield enters Political Life—Joins the Free Soil Party—Is Elected to the State Senate—Services in the Senate—The Secession Troubles—Mr. Garfield becomes a Prominent Union Leader—His Position in the Senate—A Rising Man—Supports the War Preparations of Ohio—Denounces Secession—Ohio's Situation at the Commencement of the Rebellion—How the State was Armed and Prepared for the War—Growth of the State Militia—Outbreak of the War—Rapid offers of Volunteers—Enthusiasm of the People—Services of Mr. Garfield to the State—Supports Governor Dennison's War Measures—Is sent to Illinois to Buy Arms—Determines to take part in the War.

CHAPTER III.

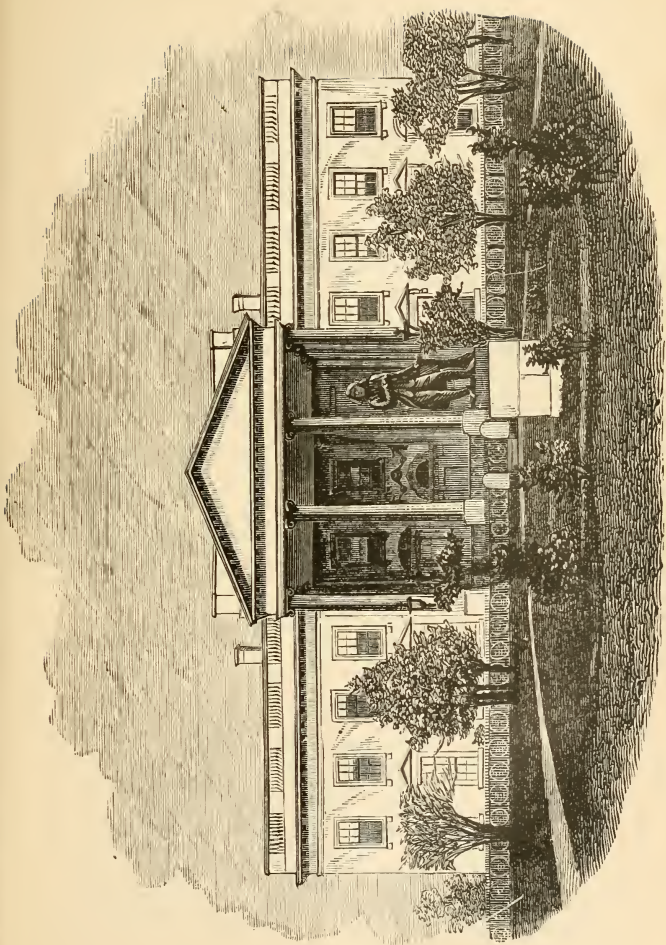
THE COLLEGE PRESIDENT BECOMES A BRIGADIER-GENERAL.

Mr. Garfield organizes a Military Company among his Students—Is made Lieutenant-Colonel—Is Promoted to be Colonel of the Forty-second Ohio Infantry—Organization and History of the Regiment—A Noble Record—The Forty-second ordered to the field—Joins General Buell's Army in Kentucky—Garfield is placed in Command of a Brigade—State of affairs in the West—Garfield's first Campaign—An Important Trust—The March up the Sandy Valley—The First Blow struck—Rout of the Rebel Cavalry—Colonel Garfield wins a handsome Victory over Humphrey Marshall at Middle Creek—Flight of Marshall's Forces—Garfield sets the Ball of Victory in motion—A true estimate of the Victory of Middle Creek—A New Dodge—Out of Supplies—The Flood in the Big Sandy—Garfield forces a Steamboat to ascend the River—Garfield at the Wheel—A Thrilling Incident—Garfield wins another Victory—Drives the Rebels from Pound Gap—Is ordered to Louisville—Is congratulated by General Buell in General Orders—Value of his Operations.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM SHILOH TO CHICKAMAUGA.

General Garfield given a Brigade in the Army of the Cumberland—Joins Buell on the march—Battle of Pittsburgh Landing—General Garfield's share in this fight—Takes part in the Pursuit—The Siege of Corinth—Garfield's Brigade one of the first to enter the town—Is ordered to repair the Memphis and Charleston Railroad—Successful performance of this duty—Garfield at Huntsville—Detailed for Court-martial duty—A severe illness—Ordered to Cumberland Gap—Placed on the Fitz John Porter Court martial—Ordered to South Carolina—Battle of Stone River—Garfield is appointed Chief of Staff to General Rosecrans—His duties and services in this position—General Rosecrans' quarrels with the War Department—Garfield endeavors to harmonize these difficulties—Rosecrans' delay at Murfreesboro—Reasons for it—Garfield's views respecting it—A stinging letter from Rosecrans to Halleck—Garfield's advice respecting the Reorganization of the Army—It is disregarded—He urges Rosecrans to advance—A Model Military Report—The Army moves off—The Tullahoma Campaign—A brilliant success—It was



THE WHITE HOUSE—THE RESIDENCE OF GENERAL GARFIELD FROM MARCH 4TH, 1881.

really due to Garfield—Advance upon Chattanooga—Retreat of Bragg—Battle of Chickamauga—Garfield's share in it—He is promoted to be Major-General of Volunteers for his conduct at Chickamauga.

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL GARFIELD ENTERS CONGRESS.

General Garfield Elected to Congress from the Western Reserve District—Desires to Remain in the Army—His Reasons for Resigning his Commission and Entering Congress—Character of his District—Reasons for his Election—Decides to Leave the Army—Enters Congress—Takes a Commanding Position in the House—Appointed to the Military Committee—Estimate of him as one of the Leaders of the Republican Party—His Habits of Industry—His Mode of Rest—Mr. Long, of Ohio, proposes to Recognize the Southern Confederacy—A Brilliant Invective—An Impressive Scene in the House—Delight of the Republicans over Garfield's Reply—It Ensures his Success in the House—Mr. Garfield in Demand as a Speaker—The Inconvenience of being Too Ready an Orator—General Garfield's Account of Congress—Its History—Its Great Services—Its Intimate Connection with the People—How it has become the National Mouthpiece and Defender—Congress and the Constitution—Congress and the President—Congress and the People—A Statesman's Views.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S CONGRESSIONAL CAREER.

The Wade-Davis Manifesto—General Garfield before the Convention—Moral Courage wins the Day—Triumphant Nomination and Election of General Garfield—Is appointed a Member of the Committee of Ways and Means—Speech on the Constitutional Amendment—A Grand Denunciation of Slavery—Speech on the Reconstruction of the Southern States—Speech on Confiscation—A Reminiscence of the War—Gradual Rise of the Negro—How Garfield refused to surrender a Fugitive Slave—Speech on State Sovereignty—General Garfield as a Temperance Worker—How he shut up a Beer Brewery—A Good Speculation—General Garfield's Tariff Record—Views of the Iron and Steel Bulletin—General Garfield's Course Satisfactory—To the Protectionists—His Real

Position on this Question—Re-election of General Garfield to Congress—Is made Chairman of the Military Committee—Successive re-elections to Congress—Is made Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations—Debate on the Civil Appropriation Bill of 1872—General Garfield's mode of conducting Public Business—The Salary Grab—General Garfield's Course respecting it—Letter to a Friend—Garfield successfully Vindicates his Course—A Silly Rumor Refuted—General Garfield urges the Repeal of the Salary Bill.

CHAPTER VII.

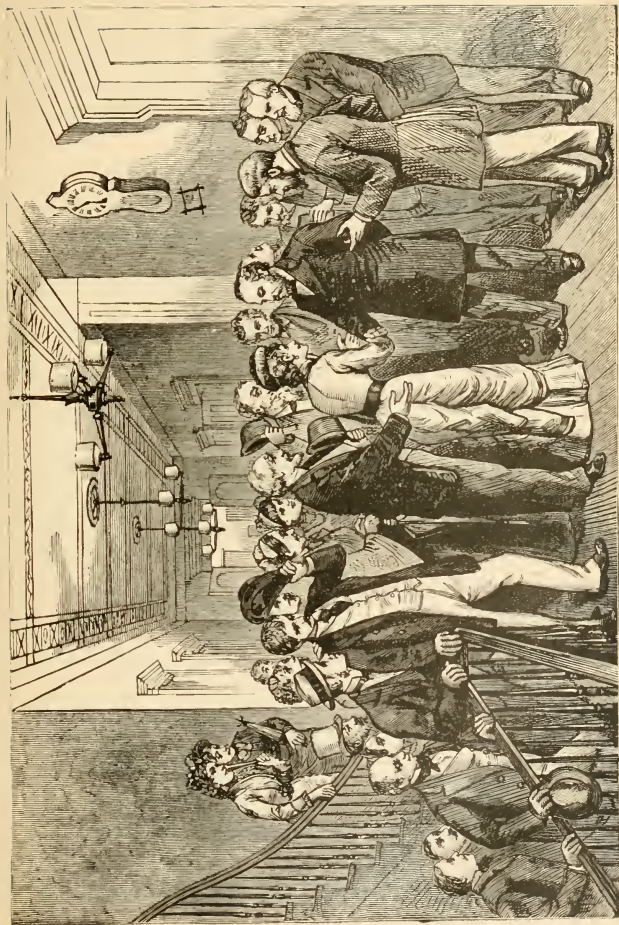
GENERAL GARFIELD LEADS THE REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION—IS ELECTED TO THE SENATE.

Efforts to defeat General Garfield for Congress—His triumphant Re-election—The Democrats have a Majority in the House—Garfield loses his Chairmanship—One of the Republican Leaders—A sharp Arraignment of the Democratic Party—The Democratic Graveyard—Ohio goes Republican—General Garfield nominated for United States Senator—Is the Republican Candidate for Speaker of the House—A Member of two important Committees—Becomes the Republican Leader in the House—Garfield pours a Broadside into the Democratic Ranks—A Withering Denunciation of Democratic Policy—Reply to Mr. Tucker, of Virginia—Garfield breaks the Democratic Line—Delight of the Republicans in the House—Comments of the *New York Herald*—Appeal in behalf of the Loyal Men of the South—Speech on the Judicial Expenses Bill—Speech at Madison Wisconsin—Speech at the Andersonville Re-union—Plain Talking on a Sad Subject—General Garfield is Elected to the United States Senate—His Arrival at Columbus—Reception at the Capital—His Remarks—Address of President Hinsdale on Garfield's Election—Speech of General Garfield on Democratic Nullification.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S FINANCIAL RECORD.

General Garfield's Appointment to the Committee on Banking and Currency—His Efforts in Congress in behalf of Honest Money—A Formal Statement of his Views on the Money Question—The Currency Doctrine of 1862—Definition of Money—Money as an Instrument of Exchange—



General Garfield receiving the Congratulations of his Friends at the Kennard House, Cleveland, upon his Nomination.

Coin as an Instrument of Universal Credit—Statutes cannot Repeal the Laws of Value—Paper Money as an Instrument of Credit—Necessity of Resumption—A Powerful Argument—General Garfield's Speech on the Weaver Resolutions.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CREDIT MOBILIER AND DE GOLYER CHARGES — GENERAL GARFIELD'S TRIUMPHANT VINDICATION.

History of the *Crédit Mobilier* Scheme—The Pacific Railway—Government Aid extended to H. Oakes Ames' Connection with the Road—Congress Investigates the *Crédit Mobilier*—General Garfield's sworn Testimony before the Committee—He denies all Improper Connection with the Scheme—Publishes a Review of the Case—An Exhaustive Discussion of the Case—Testimony in the Matter—General Garfield's Response to the Charges of 1872—Mr. Ames' Testimony Analyzed—Mr. Ames' Memoranda—The Check on the Sergeant-at-Arms—General Garfield's Interviews with Mr. Ames during the Investigation—Conclusions—Triumphant Vindication of General Garfield—All the Charges against him—Letter of Judge Poland—General Garfield Unanimously Acquitted of Wrong-doing—The De Golyer Pavement Company—Charges against General Garfield—His Triumphant Vindication of his Course—The Truth established at last.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.—GENERAL GARFIELD NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Chicago Convention—Description of the Hall—General Garfield a Delegate from Ohio—Cordial Reception by the Convention—Opening of the Proceedings—The First Day's Work—Events of the Second Day—The Struggle between Grant and Blaine—Parliamentary Skirmishing—Proceedings of the Third Day—Report of the Committee on Credentials—The Evening Session—The Fight over Illinois—The Fourth Day's Session—The Grant Lines show Signs of Weakness—Garfield's Masterly Management of the Ohio Delegation—Nomination of Candidates—Blaine and Grant Presented—General Garfield Nominates John Sher-

man—A Noble Speech—The Fifth Day's Session—Balloting for the Presidential Candidates—A Stubborn Fight—A Detailed Statement of the Ballots—The Sixth and Last Day—Wisconsin Votes for Garfield—The General endeavors to Stop the Movement in his Favor—He is unsuccessful—The Break to Garfield—The Thirty-sixth Ballot—Garfield Nominated for the Presidency—Exciting Scenes in the Convention—The Nomination Made Unanimous—Nomination of Vice-President—How Garfield's Nomination was brought about—Platform of the Republican Party for 1880.

CHAPTER XI.

GENERAL GARFIELD SINCE THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

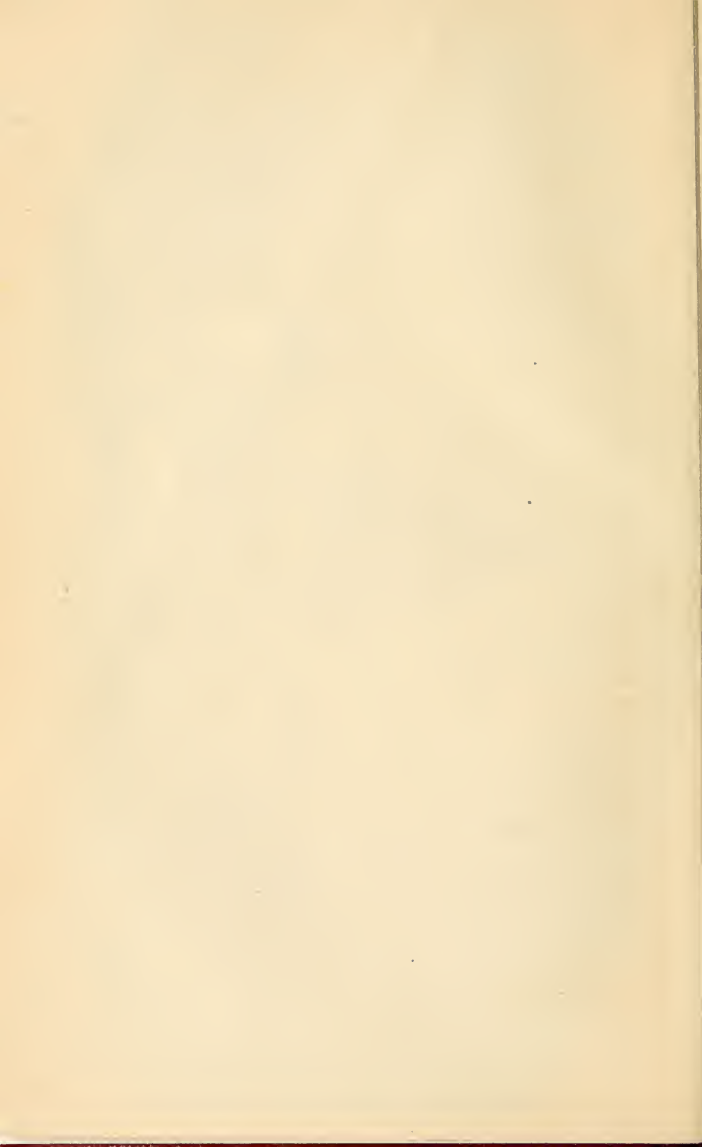
The Nomination unsought by General Garfield—Congratulatory Telegrams—How the News was received in Congress—Scene in the House—General Garfield notified of his Nomination—His Reply—Returns Home—Reception at Cleveland—General Garfield presides at the Reunion of Hiram College—His Speech on that Occasion—A Glance at the Past—Reception at Mentor—Visit to Painesville—General Garfield addresses his Neighbors—Sunday at Home—General Garfield returns to Washington City—His Journey—A Serenade at Washington—Speech of General Garfield—Adjournment of Congress—Fourth of July Speech at Painesville—General Garfield's Letter accepting the Nomination for the Presidency—Personal Characteristics—General Garfield's Washington Home—The Farm at Mentor—The Garfield Family.

CHAPTER XII.

Birth and Parentage—College Life—Teaches a Country School—Studies Law—Admitted to Practice—Settles in New York—Marries the Daughter of a Hero—Defends two Fugitive Slaves—Carries his Case to a Triumphant Issue—Appointed Engineer-in-Chief of Governor Morgan's Staff—An Honorable Record—Refuses to accept Presents for his Public Services—His Record on Civil Service Reform—Made Collector of the Port of New York—Puts a stop to Frauds upon the Government—Attempts to fasten Charges of Fraud upon Him are Unsuccessful—Removed from Office by President Hayes—Offered the post of Consul General to Paris—Refuses it—Personal Appearance—Nominated for Vice-President—His Letter of Acceptance.



VIEW OF THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, THE SCENE OF GENERAL GARFIELD'S LABORS FOR THE PAST SIXTEEN YEARS.



THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

CHAPTER I.

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY YEARS.

Birth and Parentage—Rev. Hosea Ballou—Death of James Garfield's Father—A Western Widow—Jules Garfield resolves to keep the Family together—Boyhood of James Garfield—Brought up to Hard Work—An Industrious Boy—James determines to obtain an Education—A Poor Boy's Struggles—The Village School—James makes an excellent listener—Becomes a Boatman on the Ohio Canal—Is Promoted—Wishes to be a Sailor—A Fortunate Illness—James Garfield makes the Acquaintance of Samuel D. Bates—Resolves to go to School—At the Academy—A Struggle for an Education—Garfield at the Carpenter's Bench—Becomes a School Teacher—Leaves the Academy—Finds a Friend who helps him to enter College—His Reasons for Selecting Williams College—His Career there—Graduates with distinction.

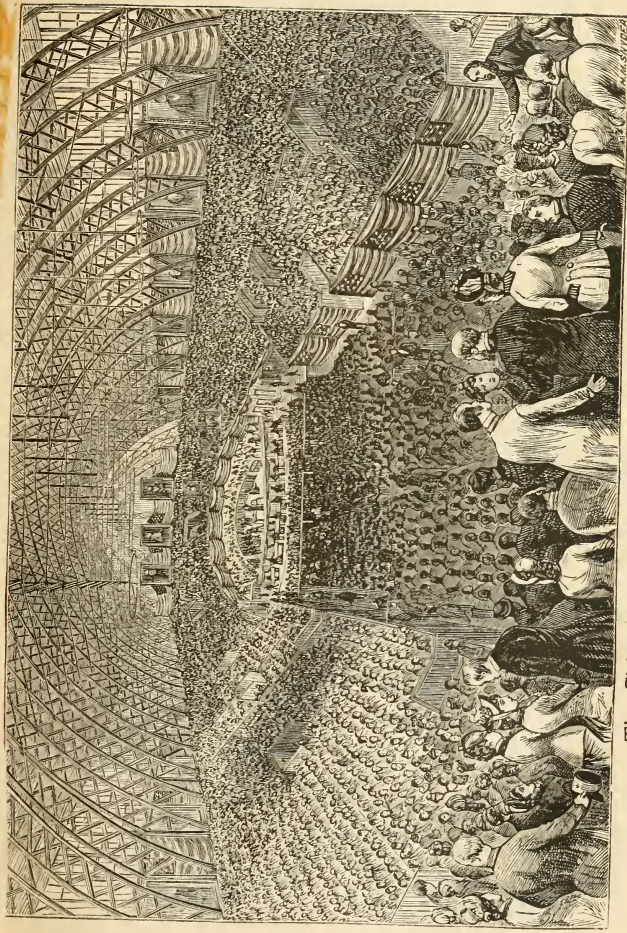
JAMES ABRAHAM GARFIELD was born in the village of Orange, in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, about twelve miles from Cleveland, on the 19th of November, 1831. His parents were both of New England extraction. His father was Abraham Garfield, a native of Otsego County, New York, but the ancestors of Abraham Garfield had

resided in Massachusetts for generations. His mother's maiden name was Eliza Ballou. She was a native of New Hampshire, and was a niece of the Rev. Hosea Ballou, one of the most distinguished Universalist divines of his day.*

James Garfield was the youngest of four (sons). When he was scarcely two years old his father died, in 1833, leaving his family in straitened circumstances. The

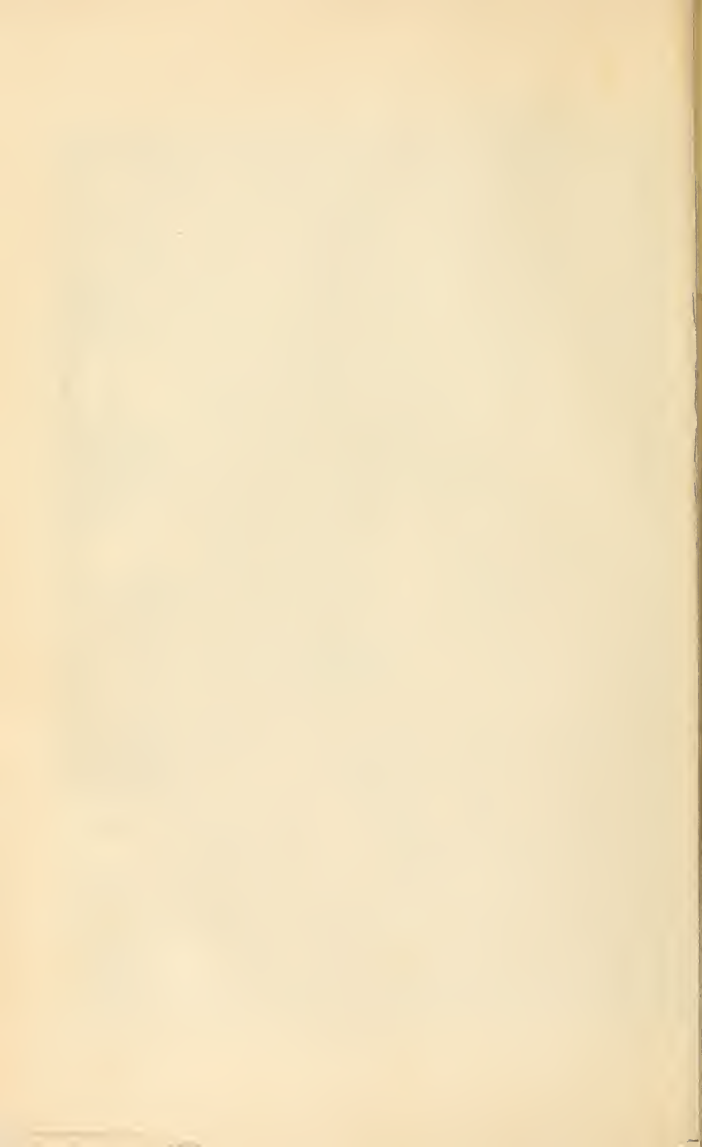
* As the connection between General Garfield and his distinguished great uncle is exceedingly interesting, we quote here the following brief biography of the latter :

“HOSEA BALLOU.—An American clergyman, born at Richmond, N. H., April 30, 1771, died at Boston, June 7, 1852. He was the son of a Baptist clergyman, who was conscientiously opposed to receiving any remuneration for his professional services, and consequently he had so few advantages of education, that in learning to write he was obliged to use birch bark instead of paper, and charcoal instead of pen and ink. At the age of nineteen he joined the Baptist church under his father's care, but, having declared his belief in the final salvation of all men, he was excommunicated. He began to preach at the age of twenty-one, and in 1794 was settled at Dana, Mass. In 1801 he removed to Barnard, Vermont, while in 1804 he wrote his ‘Notes on the Parables’ and ‘Treatise on the Atonement.’ In 1807 he became pastor of the Universalist church in Portsmouth, N. H. In 1815 he removed to Salem, Mass., and in 1817 to Boston, where he became pastor of the Second Universalist church, in which location he continued for thirty-five years. In 1819 he commenced the ‘Universalist Magazine,’ which he conducted alone for several years, and afterwards in conjunction with the Rev. Thomas Whitmore. In 1831, aided by his grand-nephew, Hosea Ballou, he commenced the ‘Universalist Expositor,’ a quarterly publication, to which he continued to contribute until his death. Among his published works, besides those mentioned, are 26 ‘Lecture Sermons,’ 20 ‘Select Sermons,’ an ‘Examination of the Doctrine of Future Retribution (1846), and a volume of poems, mostly hymns, many of which are embodied in the ‘Universalist Collection’ edited by Adams and Chapin. He preached more than ten thousand sermons, none of which were written till after their delivery. Two of his brothers, Benjamin and David, also became Universalist preachers. Two memoirs of him have been published, one by his son, M. M. Ballou, the other by Thomas Whitmore (1854).”—*The American Encyclopedia*, Vol. II. p. 246.



The Chicago Convention—Balloting for Candidates.

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION. BALLOTING FOR CANDIDATES.





GENERAL GARFIELD AT THE BATTLE OF POUND GAP.



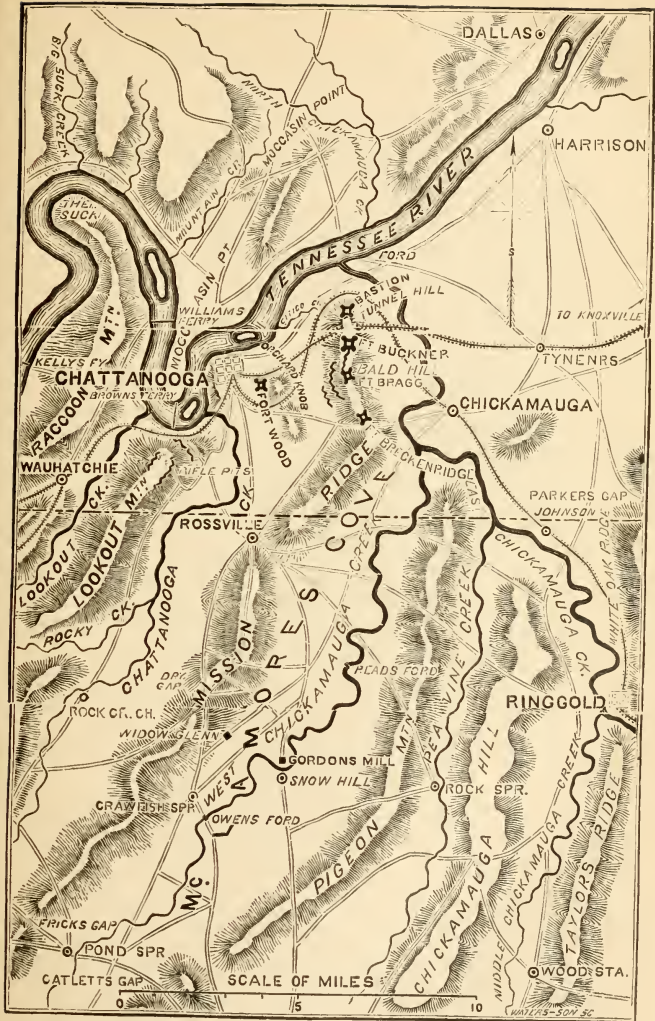
support of the family devolved entirely upon Mrs. Garfield, but fortunately for her boys she was a woman of rare energy and excellent business qualities. The friends of General Garfield are unanimous in declaring that it is from his mother that he inherits his capacity for work, and the patience and perseverance he displays in the accomplishment of his ends. Mrs. Garfield was determined from the moment of her husband's death that the family should not be separated, but should be kept together as when the father was living. To accomplish this required a hard struggle, but she was a woman of strong faith and courage, and with the aid of her three elder boys managed to gain a frugal support from the little farm left to her by her husband. Young as he was, James was obliged to do what he could in the work of the farm, and in this way learned the habits of industry which have distinguished his manhood, and laid the foundation of his strong and vigorous constitution. He worked with a will, for he liked it, and even as a child detested idleness. When but a little fellow, it was said of him by the neighbors, that he had "not a lazy hair in his head." The farm was poor, and it required constant and hard work from all the family to get a living out of it.

From his earliest years, James was anxious to obtain a good education; but the prospect before him was discouraging. He was a poor boy, and without friends who could assist him. Whatever he accomplished in life must be by his own exertions. This conviction became implanted in his mind at a very early day, and gave to him an earnestness of character and resoluteness of purpose

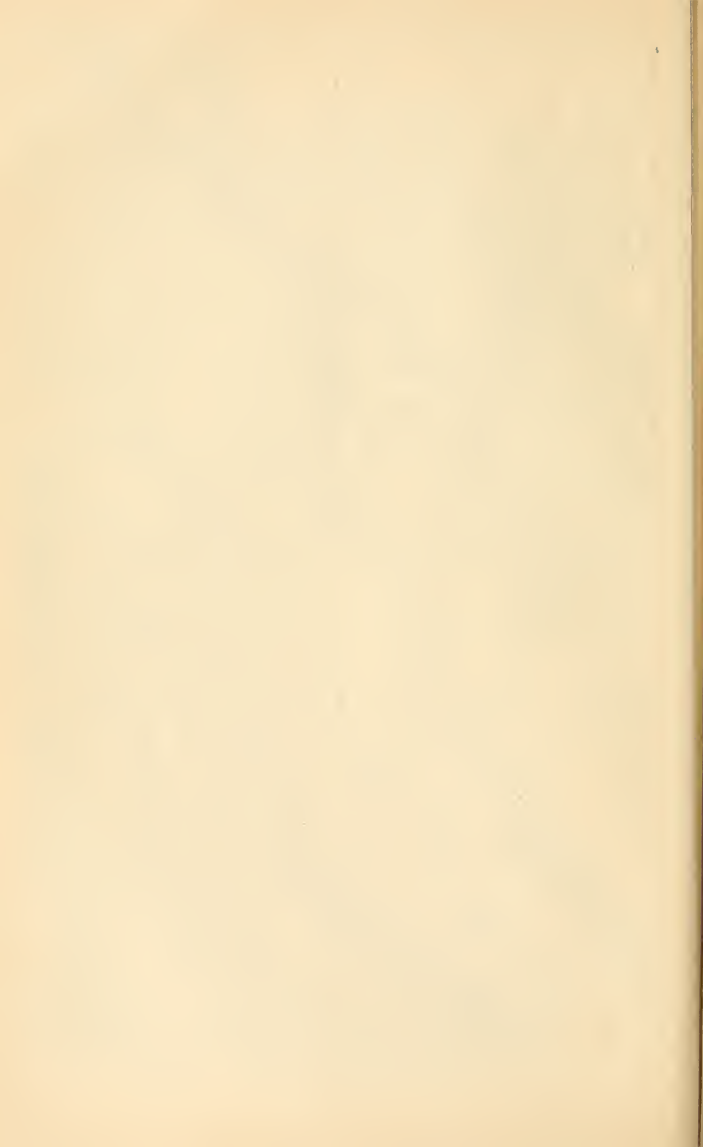
remarkable in one so young. During the summer months he worked on the little farm, and in the winter he worked at the carpenter's bench, his friends thinking it best that a poor boy with his way to make in the world, should be master of some good useful trade. When he had sufficiently mastered the rudiments of this trade, the neighbors employed him in such simple jobs as he was capable of performing, and in this way he was able to earn a little money.

All this while he could neither read nor write, yet he was by no means an ignorant boy. There was in Orange a so-called village school, where the villagers met in the evening during the long winters, to read and discuss such books as they possessed and the newspapers that came to them by the mail. Young Garfield was a constant attendant and an eager listener, and in this capacity picked up considerable useful information. No one would have dreamed that the illiterate boy who drank in so eagerly the prosy sentences of the county paper, would one day be the brilliant and accomplished leader of a great party, and a candidate for the highest honors in the gift of his countrymen. What a lesson of hope and encouragement does such a life hold out to the young and struggling men of America. The same means by which this man rose to fame, are open to every one who will use them as faithfully and honorably as he did.

This constant attendance upon the village school but increased the desire of young Garfield to obtain an education. But to obtain this money was indispensable, and the boy had none. Naturally he began to look about him for some avocation which would enable him to earn



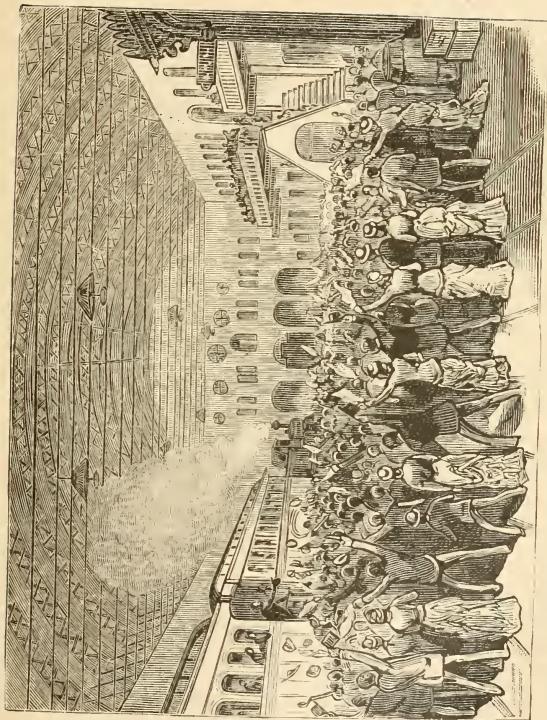
MAP SHOWING THE COUNTRY FROM CHATTANOOGA TO CHICKAMAUGA—THE SCENE OF ONE OF GENERAL GARFIELD'S CAMPAIGNS,



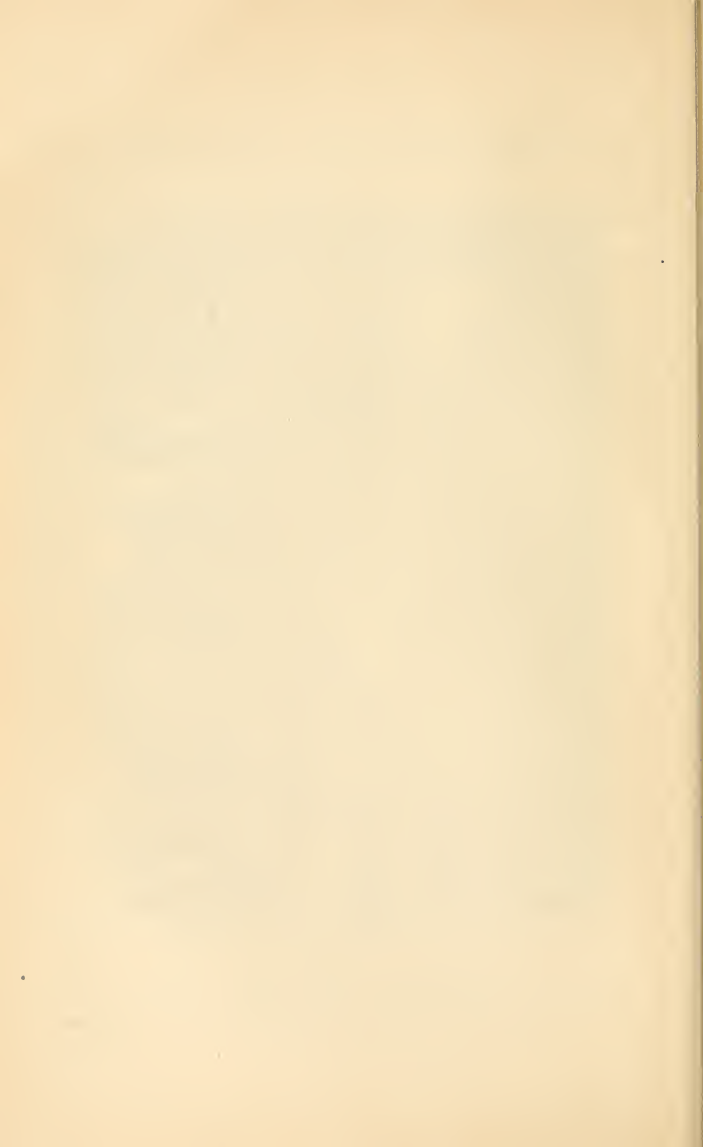
money, and so obtain the knowledge he craved. The Ohio Canal passed within a short distance of the Garfield farm, and the lad made many acquaintances among the boatmen. From these he learned that the wages paid the canal men amounted to more than he could earn by his labor on the farm or by carpentering, and that they were paid promptly and in cash. He therefore determined to become a boatman, and when but seventeen years old succeeded in obtaining employment as driver of one of the boats. Though his position was humble in the extreme, he displayed such fidelity and diligence in the discharge of his duties that he attracted the attention of his superiors, who promoted him to the post of steersman, a position which brought him an increase of wages. He held this position for about eighteen months, working hard, and laying by as much as he could of his small earnings. In the fall of 1848, being dissatisfied with canal life, he resolved to take a step forward and ship as a sailor on one of the vessels plying on Lake Erie. Before he could carry out this resolution, however, he was seized with a severe attack of ague and fever, which compelled him to leave the canal and return to his mother's house an invalid. This sickness proved the turning-point in his life, and as a result of it, James A. Garfield, instead of burying himself in the fore-castle of a ship, became one of the leading statesmen of the American Republic.

Young Garfield's illness lasted three months, and during this time he became acquainted with Samuel D. Bates, a young man engaged in teaching the district school that winter. Bates had recently been a pupil at

the "Geauga Seminary," in an adjoining county, and his conversation aroused in the invalid all the old desire to obtain an education, which had almost died out under the influence of his canal-boat associates. The plan of becoming a sailor was abandoned, and the young man resolved to give all his energies now to the acquirement of knowledge. He had managed with the aid of some friends to learn to read, and could do simple examples in arithmetic, but this was the sole basis upon which he proposed to build up the structure of knowledge he meant to rear. It was enough, however, for one so ambitious and determined. His mother entered fully into his plans and hopes, and moreover was able to aid him with a little money which she had saved by the most pinching economy. With this small capital he started, in March, 1849, for the "Geauga Academy," an obscure institution located at Chester, a small country village not far from Orange. He was accompanied by a cousin and another young man from his village. The young men were too poor to pay one dollar and fifty cents a week for board, in addition to the cost of their tuition, and so they took with them frying-pans, dishes, and other cooking utensils. Upon reaching Chester they rented a room in an old unpainted frame building, not far from the academy, and during their stay there "kept house" for themselves. From this day James A. Garfield earned his own living, and to his credit be it said never possessed a dollar that he had not gained by honest and faithful toil. He applied himself with ardor to his studies, for his heart was in his work, and failure had become among the impossibilities with him. His industry enabled him to distance his com-



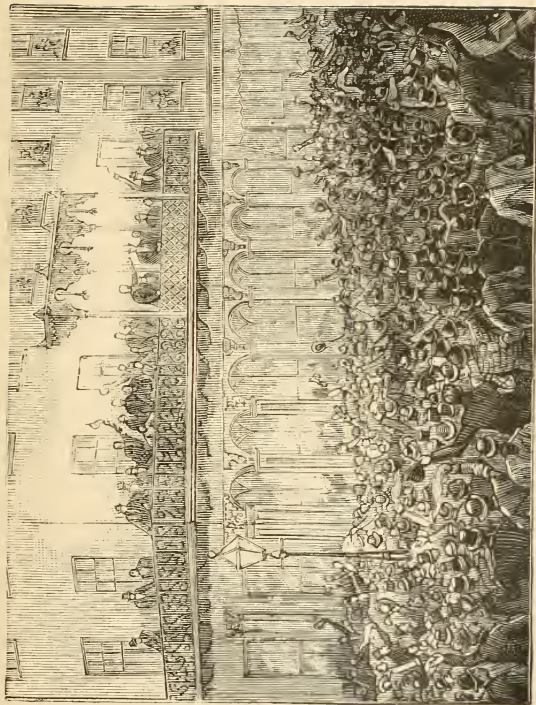
RECEPTION OF GENERAL GARFIELD ON HIS ARRIVAL AT THE RAILROAD DEPOT IN CLEVELAND
ON HIS RETURN FROM THE CHICAGO CONVENTION



petitors, and he soon took rank as the most promising pupil in the academy. During all this while he earned his own living. He found work with the carpenters of Chester, and his mornings and evenings and Saturdays were spent in working in the shop. He earned fair wages, and was thus enabled to pay his way as he went. As may be imagined, he had few leisure moments; but work with him was a pleasure, and he had the happiness and encouragement of feeling that he was surely preparing himself for a man's part in the great struggle of life. When the summer vacation came, he devoted himself steadily to work, and by laying aside his earnings provided a fund for the expenses of the fall and spring terms at school. During the winter he taught a district school, and so added to his income. Thus he kept on for several years, teaching in the winter, working at the bench in the summer, and attending the academy during the fall and spring terms. He practised the most rigid economy, laying aside all he could of his earnings, for the purpose of paying for a collegiate course, upon which he was now resolved to enter. He had the fortune to enjoy excellent health during this time. He was a tall, muscular, fair-haired country lad in those days, looking a good deal like a German in spite of his pure Yankee blood. Healthy in mind and body, he was also genial in temper and ever ready to oblige a friend. He was a good wrestler and ball player as well as a good student, and was a great favorite with his classmates and teachers.

In 1854, Mr. Garfield determined to leave the academy, as he felt that he had exhausted its capacity for imparting knowledge. He was now twenty-three years

old, and it was important that he should lose no time in entering college, if he meant to do so at all. During the five years he had passed at the academy and at work, he had laid by a considerable sum of money for the expenses of his collegiate course, and he was confident that his hard studies had fitted him to enter the junior class at college. But even this would require a two years' course at college, and his savings were several hundred dollars short of the amount necessary to defray his expenses. How was he to raise the balance? For awhile this troubled him greatly; but friends now came to his assistance, and he began to reap in part the reward of the good life he had led. His course at the academy had established for him a reputation for honesty and persistency of purpose, which now stood him in good stead. A gentleman who had watched his career with great interest, agreed to advance him the necessary money, taking as security a life-insurance policy, which Mr. Garfield, being in excellent health, had no difficulty in securing. This loan placed him in possession of sufficient funds to carry out his plan. The next step was to determine upon a college. After canvassing the merits of various institutions, Mr. Garfield chose Williams College, at Williamstown, Mass., as the one most suited to his needs. Before leaving home, he placed his policy of life insurance in the hands of his kind friend, as security for the loan. "If I live," he said, "I will pay you. If I die, you will suffer no loss." The debt was paid soon after his graduation, and the creditor has ever since been one of Mr. Garfield's closest and most devoted friends, reaping a rich reward in the brilliant career of the young



GEN GAREFIELD ADDRESSING THE PUBLIC FROM THE BALCONY OF THE
KENNARD HOUSE, CLEVELAND.



man he helped to reach fame and honors. Mr. Garfield had originally intended to attend Bethany College, the institution sustained by the church of which he was a member, and presided over by Alexander Campbell, the man above all others whom he had been taught to admire and revere. But as study and experience had enlarged his vision, he had come to see that there were better institutions outside the limits of his peculiar sect. A familiar letter of his, written about that time, from which a fortunate accident enables us to quote, shall tell us how he reasoned and acted.

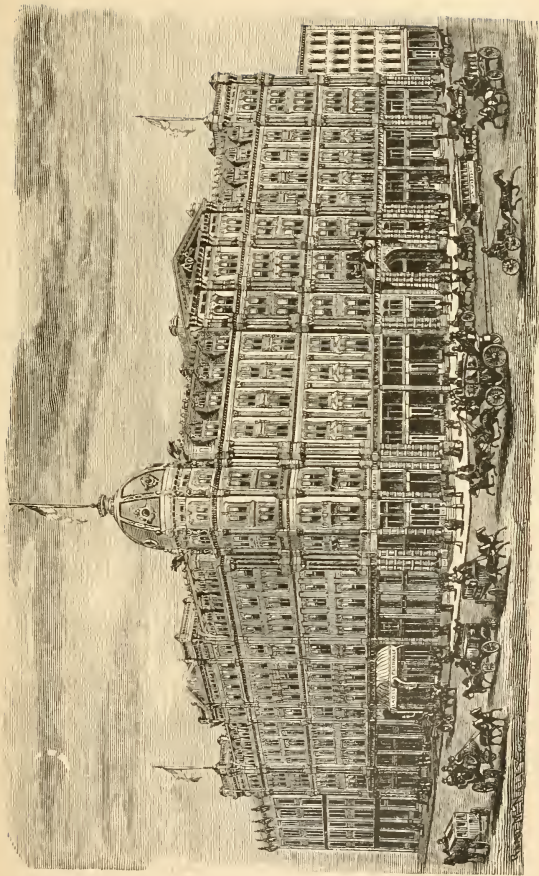
“There are three reasons why I have decided not to go to Bethany: 1st. The course of study is not so extensive or thorough as in the Eastern colleges. 2d. Bethany leans too heavily toward slavery. 3d. I am the son of Disciple parents, am one myself, and have had but little acquaintance with people of other views; and, having always lived in the West, I think it will make me more liberal, both in my religious and general views and sentiments, to go into a new circle where I shall be under new influences. These considerations led me to conclude to go to some New England college. I therefore wrote to the Presidents of Brown University, Yale, and Williams, setting forth the amount of study I had done, and asking how long it would take me to finish their course.

“Their answers are now before me. All tell me I can graduate in two years. They are all brief, business notes, but President Hopkins concludes with this sentence: ‘If you come here, we shall be glad to do what we can for you.’ Other things being so nearly equal, this sentence, which seems to be a kind of friendly grasp

of the hand, has settled the question for me. I shall start for Williams next week."

Some points in this letter of a young man about to start away from home to college will strike the reader as remarkable. Nothing could show more mature judgment about the matter in hand than the wise anxiety to get out from the Disciples' influence, and see something of other men and other opinions. It was notable that one trained to look upon Alexander Campbell as the master intellect of the churches of the day, should revolt against studying in his college because it leaned too strongly to slavery. And in the final turning of the decision upon the little friendly commonplace that closed one of the letters, we catch a glimpse of the warm sympathetic nature of the man, which much and wide experience of the world in after years has never hardened.

Repairing to Williams College, in the fall of 1854, Mr. Garfield was admitted to the junior class, his private studies having enabled him to master the freshman and sophomore courses. His life at Williams opened a new experience to him. He was now thrown into the society of polished young students, who looked somewhat contemptuously on the rough Western carpenter and farmer who had dropped among them. His experience from a social point of view was far from pleasant, and he was the subject of many rude remarks and much ruder treatment. He bore all this with patience, though his high spirit inwardly chafed at it. He had come to college for a fixed purpose, and that purpose he kept steadily in view, allowing nothing to swerve him from it. Disregarding the slights he constantly received, he applied himself



FALMER HOUSE, CHICAGO—THE HEAD-QUARTERS DURING THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.



with energy to his studies, and made a reputation that not even those who affected to look down upon him could afford to despise. In 1856, two years after his admission, he was graduated, bearing off the honors of his class in metaphysics, a distinction which is regarded as among the highest within the gift of the institution to its graduating members. This high honor was an ample reward to him for all the slights he had endured while struggling for it. How his classmates would have smiled had they been told that the man they affected to despise was one day to become a leader whom they would gladly and enthusiastically follow in one of the greatest contests that ever marked the history of the country!

CHAPTER II.

PRESIDENT OF A COLLEGE AND STATE SENATOR.

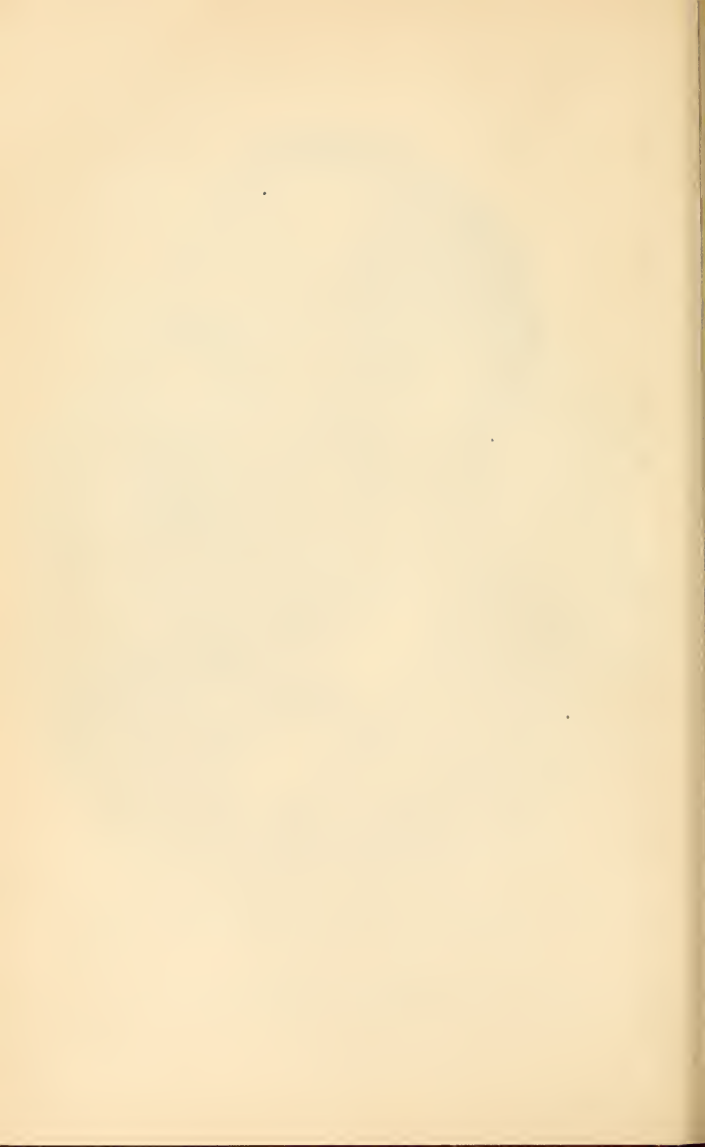
Mr. Garfield joins the Church of the Disciples—Statement of the Religious Belief of this Church—Reckless Attacks of Political Enemies upon Mr. Garfield's Religious Views—The true state of the Case—Mr. Garfield becomes a Professor of Hiram Eclectic Institute—Is made President of the College—His life in this capacity—Preaches the Gospel—Growing Popularity—Marriage of Mr. Garfield—His Wife—Buys a House—Mr. Garfield enters Political Life—Joins the Free-Soil Party—Is Elected to the State Senate—Services in the Senate—The Secession Troubles—Mr. Garfield becomes a Prominent Union Leader—His Position in the Senate—A Rising Man—Supports the War Preparations of Ohio—Denounces Secession—Ohio's Situation at the Commencement of the Rebellion—How the State was Armed and Prepared for the War—Growth of the State Militia—Outbreak of the War—Rapid offers of Volunteers—Enthusiasm of the People—Services of Mr. Garfield to the State—Supports Governor Dennison's War Measures—Is sent to Illinois to Buy Arms—Determines to take part in the War.

WHILE attending the Geauga Academy, Mr. Garfield made a profession of religion, and joined the Disciples' Church, a new sect which had spread with great rapidity in Ohio, under the influence of the eloquent preaching of its founder, Alexander Campbell. The religious belief of the Disciples is thus stated by the Rev. Irving A. Searles, pastor of the South Side Christian Church, Chicago:—

1. We call ourselves Christians or Disciples. The term "Campbellite" is a nickname that others have ap-



GENERAL JAMES A. GARFIELD.



plied to us, as the early Methodists were called "Ranters." Good taste forbids the use of nicknames.

2. We believe in God the Father.

3. We believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God, and our only Saviour. We regard the divinity of Christ as the fundamental truth in the Christian system.

4. We believe in the Holy Spirit, both as to its agency in confession and as an indweller in the heart of the Christian.

5. We accept both the Old and New Testament Scriptures as the inspired word of God.

6. We believe in the future punishment of the wicked, and the future reward of the righteous.

7. We believe the Deity is a prayer-hearing and prayer-answering God.

8. We observe the institution of the Lord's Supper on every Lord's Day. To this table it is our practice neither to invite nor debar. We say it is the Lord's Supper for all the Lord's children.

9. We plead for the union of all God's people upon the Bible and the Bible alone.

10. We maintain that all the ordinances of the Gospel should be observed as they were in the days of the Apostles.

11. The Bible is our only creed.

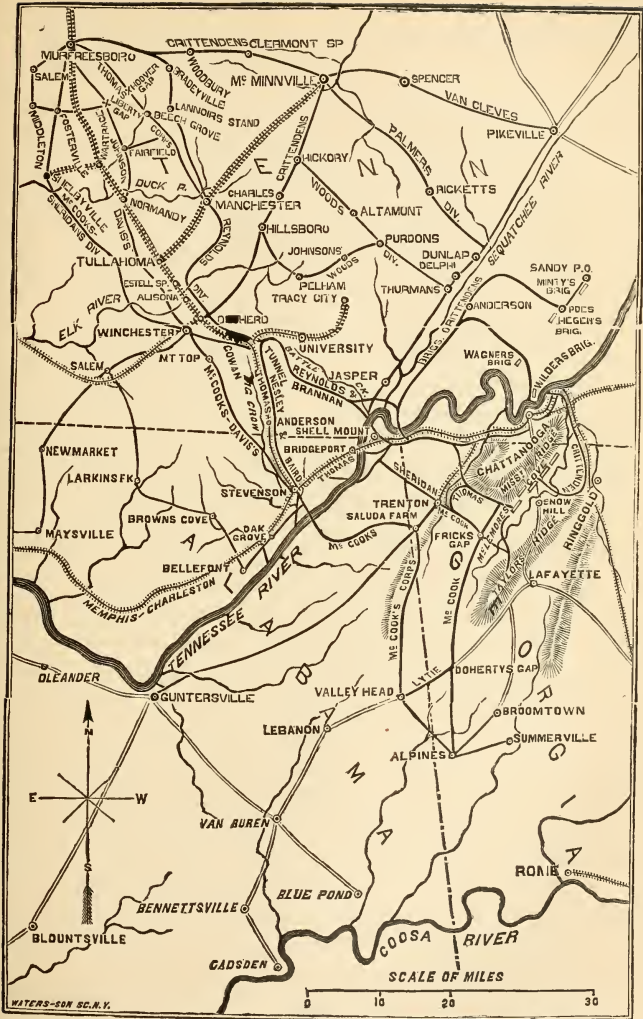
The Christian Church numbers about 500,000 communicants in the United States.

Since the nomination of General Garfield for the Presidency, some of the more reckless of his political opponents have endeavored to show that he has no religious

belief. Commenting upon this, the *Philadelphia Times*, a journal unfavorable to the Chicago nominations, said recently :

“Some of the more reckless organs have assailed General Garfield as a religious heretic. While the theory of our government is that the religious belief should not hinder or promote individual advancement in public trust, it is none the less true that this is a Christian government, and that no man could reach the Presidency who was not what is commonly accepted as orthodox in his faith ; and because General Garfield is not an adherent of one of the several leading religious organizations, he has been accused of unbelief. Such a charge against him is wholly without foundation in fact, and without even plausible ground to give the semblance of sustaining it.

“General Garfield is a religious follower of Alexander Campbell, as are a number of prominent men of all political convictions in Western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio. Campbell emigrated to this country from Ireland, in 1809, and located in Washington county, Pennsylvania, near Bethany, West Virginia, which subsequently became his home, and where he founded a college over which he presided until his death at an advanced age. He was a Presbyterian minister, but in 1810 he and his father seceded from the Presbyterian Church and organized a new society at Brush Run, Pennsylvania, called “Disciples of Christ.” They have been popularly known as “Campbellites,” because of the name of their distinguished founder, who was one of the ablest theological disputants of his time. The first point of dispute raised with the Presbyterian Church by Campbell



MAP SHOWING THE COUNTRY OF THE TULLAHOMA CAMPAIGN—IN WHICH GENERAL GARFIELD FIGURED CONSPICUOUSLY.



was in rejecting the entire Confession of Faith, and declaring that the Bible should be the sole creed of the new church. Subsequently the Disciples accepted baptism by immersion, and that, with the free interpretation of the Scriptures as members shall choose for themselves, sums up the whole faith of the followers of Alexander Campbell.

“The Disciples of Christ now number nearly or quite half a million of people, and they command the respect of all religious denominations by the simplicity and liberality of their faith. They have no ordained ministry, but, like the Quakers, all teach when so moved by the Spirit. So far from being unbelievers, they cherish and teach the utmost sanctity for both the Old and New Testaments as the inspired word of God, and the divinity of Christ is one of the fundamental truths of their religious system. They simply accept the Bible as their creed, rejecting all the creeds of men, and allow the widest latitude of belief in the interpretation of the Holy Word. They administer the Sacrament on every Lord’s Day, and exhibit their opposition to bigotry and intolerance by permitting us to join them, as none are invited and none debarred. To assume that the believer of such a religious faith is at war with the Christian religion, is to make bigotry one of the cardinal attributes of Christianity; and those who assail General Garfield because of the choice he has made of his church will harm only themselves.”

Mr. Garfield was now twenty-five years old, and was about to begin the world for himself in a newer sense. As the result of twenty years of hard work he had his collegiate education, his diploma, his books, his clothes,

good health, a clear conscience, and a debt of four hundred and fifty dollars. His task now was to find some employment that would support him, and enable him to discharge his debt. To go back to the carpenter's bench was not to be thought of. He had qualified himself for a higher place in life, and must now take it. His connection with the Disciples' Church now shaped his destiny as much as did his own inclinations. All his family were members of that church, which had a very large following in Ohio. In the county of Portage, not far from where the Garfields lived, the Disciples had a struggling college, called Hiram Eclectic Institute, which undertook to furnish education and religious training at the lowest possible price. It was natural that the young talented Disciple, who had just been graduated with distinction in an eastern college, should be attracted to this struggling school. He went to Hiram, and was made Professor of Latin and Greek. It was no easy place into which he had fallen. The college was poor, the professors were poor, the students were poor, and the salaries paid were small, as were the tuition fees received. Plain living and high thinking was the order of the day at the institute; and there was much hard labor to be done on the part of the new professor. It was done with characteristic energy, and from the first told well upon the success of the college. At the close of his first year Professor Garfield was made president of the college, and his field of labor was thus widened. In this capacity he not only taught and lectured, but preached also.

According to the creed of the Disciples, any person having the power, was entitled to preach, and the presi-



BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA.





C. A. Arthur



dent of the college was expected to deliver a sermon every Sunday as a part of his official duty. President Garfield preached with great eloquence and effect, and his fame spread through the Campbellite settlement. It was this fact that gave rise to the story that he had been a minister, a story which he has taken occasion to deny publicly on several occasions. Garfield's purpose was to be a lawyer, and he had not swerved from it at the time he used to talk of religion and a future life to the little congregations in the Disciples' meeting house in Northern Ohio. The new president was only twenty six years old, probably the youngest man that ever held such a position. He carried into his new office the remarkable energy and vigor and good sense which are the main-springs of his character. He soon doubled the attendance at the school, raised its standard of scholarship, strengthened its faculty, and inspired everybody connected with it with something of his own zeal and enthusiasm. At the same time he diligently prosecuted the study of the law, the profession he had marked out for himself, but which he has never been called on to practise to any extent. He was also an omnivorous reader of general literature, and his remarkable memory enabled him to retain what he read. The life at Hiram was peaceful and pleasant to the hard-working president. Hiram is a lonesome village, three miles from a railroad. It lies on a high hill, and overlooks twenty miles of cheese-making country to the southward. It contains fifty or sixty houses clustered around the green, in the centre of which stands the homely red brick college structure. The people were very proud of their college

president, and he soon became well known throughout Northern Ohio. He was frequently called upon for public speeches, and these added greatly to his reputation and popularity.

Mr. Garfield's place in life now seemed won, and he felt at liberty to marry. During his attendance at the Geauga Academy, he made the acquaintance of Miss Lucretia Rudolph, a pupil, and the daughter of a farmer in the neighborhood. The acquaintance ripened into affection, and the young people entered into an engagement to be married as soon as the lover should be able to assume the responsibility of such a step. In 1857 Mr. Garfield and Miss Rudolph were married. The marriage was one purely of love, and the choice was a wise one. Miss Rudolph was a refined, intelligent, affectionate girl, who shared young Garfield's thirst for knowledge and his ambition for culture, and had at the same time the domestic tastes and talents which fitted her equally to preside over the home of the poor college professor, and that of the famous statesman. Mrs. Garfield is a quiet thoughtful woman, and much of her husband's prosperity has been due to the gentle influence she has exercised over him. She has grown with her husband's growth, and has been, during all his career, the appreciative companion of his studies, the loving mother of his children, the graceful, hospitable hostess of his friends and guests, and the wise and faithful helpmeet in the trials, vicissitudes, and successes of his busy life. Immediately upon his marriage, Mr. Garfield purchased a cottage, fronting upon the college green, and here the young couple began their married

life, poor and in debt, but with brave hearts and bright hopes for the future.

Two years after his marriage, General Garfield's political life began. His sermons had attracted great attention to him, and the people of his district began to think that so eloquent and forcible a speaker could do them good service in other capacities. In 1859 the Anti-Slavery party of Portage and Summit counties nominated him as their candidate for State Senator, and elected him by a large majority. He had taken part in the political campaigns of 1857 and 1858, and had become well known as a vigorous local stump orator. Young as he was he took a leading position in the State Senate as a man unusually well informed on the subjects of legislation, and effective and powerful in debate. He seemed always prepared to speak, and always spoke with great eloquence and force. He did not resign the presidency of his college, as he thought a few weeks spent at Columbus during the winter would not materially interfere in the duties of that position, and his associates were anxious that he should not sever his connection with them. His most intimate friend in the Senate was J. D. Cox, who subsequently became a major-general of volunteers and Governor of Ohio.

During the session of 1860-61, when the States of the South began to secede from the Union, General Garfield's course was outspoken and manly. He declared his belief in the right of the general government to coerce the seceded States, and spoke eloquently in favor of the prompt and vigorous exercise of that power. The Union, he maintained, was meant to be perpetual, and the gov-

ernment should prevent its disruption at any cost. He urged upon the State of Ohio the necessity of preparing to support the general government with all its resources, and avowed his willingness to do his part in behalf of the Union should the controversy end in war. His eloquence and energy ranked him among the foremost of the Union leaders, and drew upon him the favorable attention of the entire State.

Concerning his service in the Senate, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, the accomplished author of "Ohio in the War," says: "Senator Garfield at once took high rank in the legislature. . . His genial, warm-hearted nature served to increase the kindness with which both political friends and opponents regarded him. Three Western Reserve Senators formed the Radical triumvirate in that able and patriotic legislature which was to place Ohio in line for the war. One was a highly rated professor of Oberlin College; another a lawyer already noted for force and learning, the son-in-law of the president of Oberlin; the third was one village carpenter and village teacher from Hiram. He was the youngest of the three, but he speedily became the first. The trials of the next six years were to confirm the verdict of the little group about the State capitol that soon placed Garfield before both Cox and Monroe. The college professor was abundantly satisfied with the success in life which made him a consul at a South American port. The adroit, polished, and able lawyer became a painstaking general, who, perhaps, oftener deserved success than won it, and who at last, profiting by the gratitude of the people to their soldiers, rose to be governor of the State, but there (for the time

at least) ended. The village carpenter started lower in the race of the war, and rose higher, became one of the leaders of our national councils, and confessedly one of the ablest among the younger of our statesmen.

“When the secession of the Southern States began, national considerations came to occupy a large share of the attention of the Senate. Mr. Garfield’s course was manly and outspoken. He was foremost in the very small number (only six voting in the line) who thought the spring of 1861 a bad time for adopting the Corwin constitutional amendment, forbidding Congress from ever legislating on the subject of slavery in the States. He was among the foremost in maintaining the right of the national government to coerce the seceded States. ‘Would you give up the forts and other government property in those States, or would you fight to maintain your right to them?’ was his adroit way of putting the question to a conservative Republican who deplored his incendiary views. He took the lead in revising the old statute about treason, with a view to adapting it to the instant exigencies. When the ‘Million War Bill,’ as it was popularly known at the time, came up, he was the most conspicuous of its defenders. Judge Key, of Hamilton county (subsequently a noted member of McClellan’s staff), precluded his vote for it with a protest against the policy of the administration in entering upon the war. It was left to Garfield to make the reply. The newspapers of that day all make mention of his effort in terms of the highest admiration. ‘He regretted that Senator Key should have turned from honoring his country to pay his highest tribute of praise, at a time like this, to

party. The senator approved a defense of national property, but denounced any effort to retake it if only it were once captured. Did he mean that if Washington were taken by the Rebels, he would oppose attempts to regain possession of the national capital? Where was this doctrine of non-resistance to stop? He had hoped that the senator would not, in this hour of the nation's peril, open the books of party to re-read records that ought now, at least, to be forgotten. But since the senator had thought this a fitting time to declare his distrust of the President and of the cabinet, and particularly of Ohio's honored representative in the cabinet, he had only this to say in reply: that it would be well for the senator, amid his partisan recollections, to remember whose cabinet it was that embraced traitors among its most distinguished representatives, and sent them forth from its most secret sessions to betray their knowledge to their country's ruin.' "

Mr. Garfield was determined from the first to resign his position in the legislature and enter the army. The legislature was still in session when the time for appointing the officers of the Ohio troops came, and Garfield did not immediately press his claims for an appointment. There was still much to be done in the work of preparing the State for war, and in this he took an active and leading part. In "Ohio in the War," from which we have quoted before, Mr. Whitelaw Reid thus runs up what was done in this respect, and the part taken by Mr. Garfield:

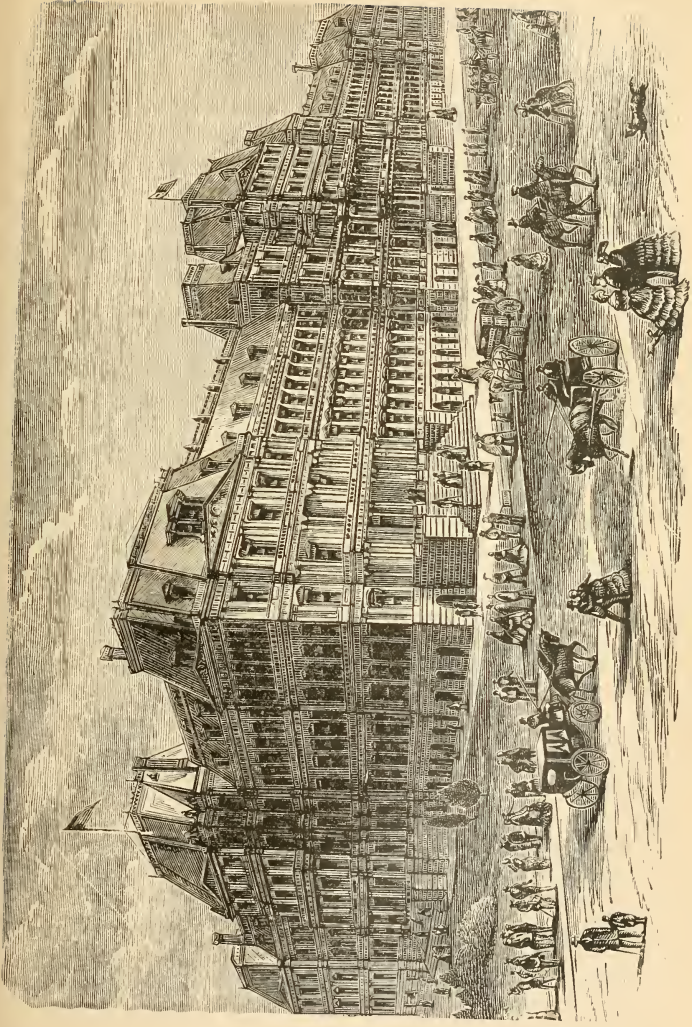
"The State of Ohio, which in the next four years was to contribute to the national service an army of soldiers amounting in the aggregate, according to the

figures of the Provost-Marshal General, to three hundred and ten thousand men, had in 1860 a population of not quite two and a half millions. The existence of its territorial organization had only begun a year before the century; but it was already, and as it seemed was likely long to remain, the third State in population and wealth in the Union. More than half of its area was under cultivation, and more than half of its adult males were farmers, there being of this class two hundred and seventy-seven thousand owning farms, averaging a little over ninety acres to each man. So well was this most important body of the State's producers aided by the natural fertility of the soil, that they furnished each year more than double the entire amount of food, animal and vegetable, that was needed for the support of the whole population of the State. In 1860 they exported nearly two million barrels of flour, over two and a half million bushels of wheat, three million bushels of other grains, and half a million barrels of pork. The value of the exports of agricultural products for that year from Ohio swelled to fifty-six and a half million dollars.

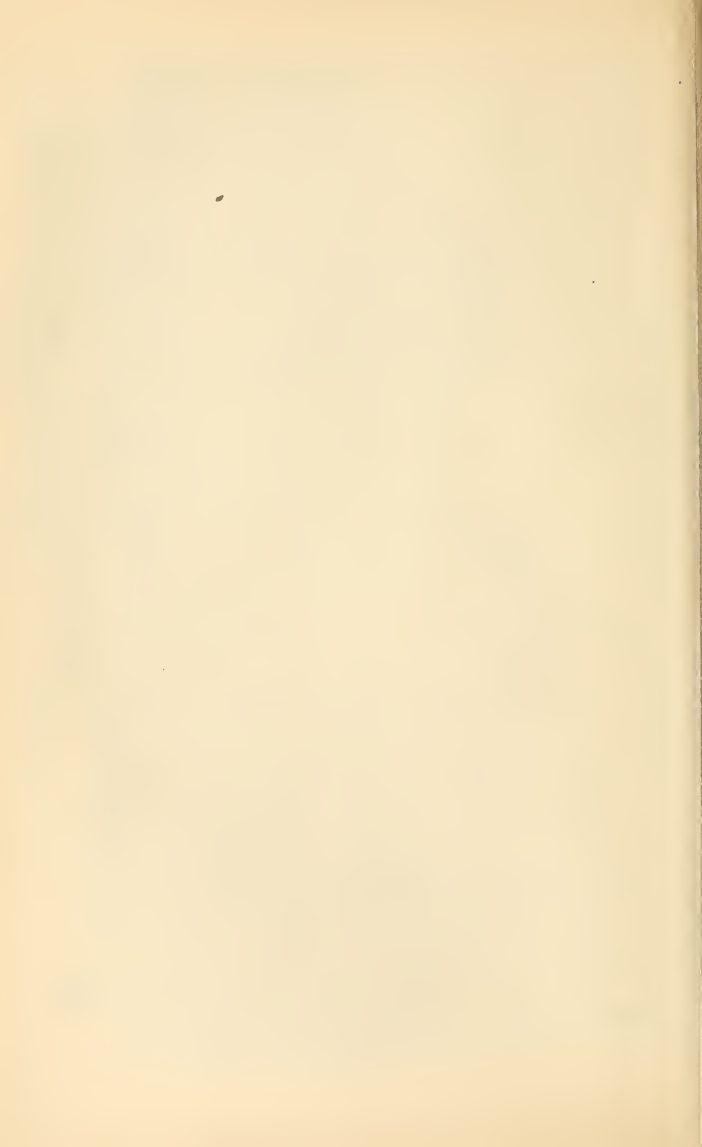
“Not less industrious and prosperous were the manufacturers of the State. The value of their products for 1860 was over one hundred and twenty-two millions of dollars, an increase of ninety-eight per cent. in a single decade. The city of Cincinnati alone, where Indians were trading wampum and buying blankets when New York had already attained the rank of the metropolis of the continent, manufactured in 1860, sixteen million dollars worth of clothing, a larger quantity than New York itself produced in the same year.

“ But the wealth of the State and the welfare of her people, so eloquently illustrated in figures like these, may perhaps be more clearly presented in a briefer statement. The assessed value of her taxable property rose in 1860 to nearly a thousand million dollars ; while, by the estimate of her Commissioner of Statistics, the entire debts of the people would not amount to twenty per cent. of that valuation. Let us not fail to add that, by the beneficent legislation of the State, none of her children were growing up without the free gift of an education that should fit them for the duties of citizenship ; that there were published and mainly circulated within her borders twenty-four daily newspapers, two hundred and sixty-five weeklies, and fifty-four monthlies, making in the aggregate seventy-two million copies ; and that so general was the devotion to religion and the provision for religious instruction, that the church edifices in the State contained sittings enough for the entire population of the State.

“ The impending war was to have for its essence the spirit of hostility to the existence, or at least to the power of the system of human slavery ; and so it comes that the position of the State on this subject is not less essential to a comprehension of her great part in the struggle, than is an appreciation of her wonderful progress and resources. The political conservatism which prosperity and accumulating wealth naturally engender, was further favored in Ohio by the circumstances of her settlement and geography. Along four hundred and thirty-six miles of her border lay slave States. From these many of her pioneers had come ; many more



THE NEW DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON.



traced with Kentuckians and West Virginians their common lineage back to the eastern slope of the ancient Dominion. In time of war the most effective support to the exposed settlements of the infant State had come from their generous and warlike neighbors across the Ohio. In the long peace that followed, the heartiest friendships and warmest social attachments naturally went out to those who had been proved in the hour of trial. If her churches on every hillside taught a religion which found no actual warrant in the Bible for the system of human slavery, they at least had no difficulty in believing that the powers that be are ordained of God, and by consequence in enforcing a toleration which proved quite as acceptable across the border as the most exhaustive scriptural exegesis. North of the National Road, which for many years was the Mason and Dixon's line of Ohio politics, different views prevailed; and the people, tracing their ancestry to Puritan rather than Virginia stock, cherished different feelings; but the southern half of the State, being more populous and more influential, long controlled the elections, and inspired the temper of the government and the legislation.

“In the Presidential contest of 1848, the electoral vote of the State was thus thrown for Lewis Cass. In 1852, it was in like manner given to Franklin Pierce. But by this time a change had begun. In the very heart of the conservative feeling of the State, one of the foremost lawyers of the city of Cincinnati had for years been keeping up an antislavery agitation. He had found a few, like-minded with himself, but society and the church had combined to frown him down. Still, so single-minded and

sincere was he, that, though the most ambitious of men, he resolutely faced the popular current, shut his eyes to all hope of political advancement, and daily labored at the task of resisting the pretensions of slavery, giving legal protection to the friendless and helpless negroes, and diffusing an abolition sentiment among the conservative men of the border, and the influential classes of the great city of the State, whose prosperity was supposed to depend upon her intimate relations and immense trade with the slave-holding regions to the south of her. To this task he brought some peculiar qualifications. Profoundly ignorant of men, he was, nevertheless, profoundly versed in the knowledge of man. The baldest charlatan might deceive him into trusting his personal worth, but the acutest reasoner could not mislead him in determining the general drift of popular sentiment, and the political tendencies of the times. Conscious of abilities that might place him in the front rank of our statesmen, his sagacity, not less than his conscience, taught him to take Time for his ally, and lightly regarding the odium of his present work, to look confidingly to the larger promises of the future. Loving personal popularity, he was entirely destitute of the qualifications for attaining it. Really warm-hearted and singularly tenacious in his attachments, he was perpetually regarded as utterly selfish and without capacity for friendship; so that his defects, no less than his merits, shut him up to a course which could hope for personal triumph only in the triumph of great principles. He was gifted by nature with a massive and cogent eloquence, little likely to sway the immediate passions of the populace, but

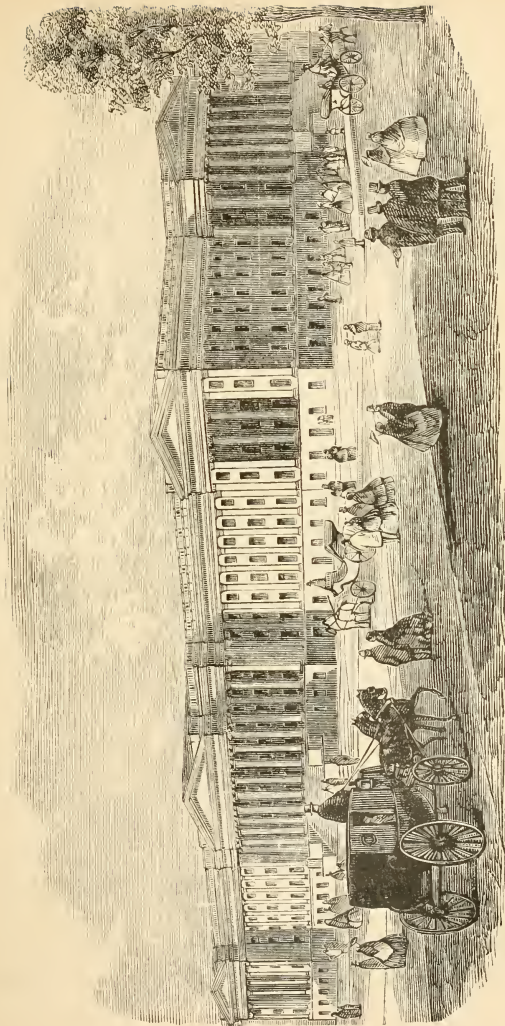
sure to infiltrate the judgment and conscience of the controlling classes in the community. His energy was tireless, and his will absolutely inflexible.

“Under such leadership, ably seconded by the faithful and true old man who so long stood in Ohio the champion of Abolition, pure and simple, and the peculiar representative of the Reserve, a new element sprang up in Ohio politics. It cast a handful of votes for Birney for the Presidency; had risen to proportions which made it a respectable element in political calculations, when it cast, what was thought to be, the vote of the balance of power for Van Buren; and had reached the height of its unpopularity with the old ruling class of the State when, in 1852, refusing to sustain General Scott on account of the ‘anti-agitation’ and ‘finality of the slavery question’ features in his platform, it persisted in again giving the votes of its balance of power to John P. Hale, and thus permitting the triumph of Franklin Pierce.

“But before another Presidential election the shrewd calculations of the sagacious leader of this outcast among parties had been realized. Holding, as has been seen, the balance of power, and subordinating all minor questions to what they regarded as the absorbing issue of slavery or antislavery, they had already, with a handful of votes, controlled a great election, and sent this Abolition leader to the United States Senate. A greater triumph now awaited him. As dexterous in managing parties as he was blind in managing men, he placed such stress upon the new organization which had risen upon the ruins of the old Whig party, that, detesting his principles and distrusting himself, they were, neverthe-

less, forced to secure the votes without which the election were lost in advance, by placing his name at the head of their ticket, and bearing the odious Abolitionist in triumph into the chair of the chief executive of the State. The impulse thus given was never wholly lost; for though the people were by no means as radical as their governor, they gave at their next Presidential election a handsome majority to Fremont, and a year later again elected their Abolition leader.

“Whether it was through a far-seeing anticipation of what was to grow out of this antislavery struggle, or whether it was only a result of the sagacious forecast which in most things distinguished his administration, Governor Chase early began to attempt an effective organization of the militia. In this, as in his political views, he was in advance of his times. In every State west of the Alleghanies the militia had fallen into undisguised contempt. The old-fashioned militia musters had been given up; the subject had been abandoned as fit only to be the fertile theme for the ridicule of rising writers and witty stump orators. The cannon issued by the Government were left for the uses of political parties on the occasion of mass meetings or victories at the polls. The small arms were scattered, rusty, and become worthless. In Chicago a novel drill had been an inducement for the organization of the Ellsworth Zouaves, and here and there through the West the young men of a city kept up a military company; but these were the exceptions. Popular prejudice against doing military duty was insurmountable, and no name for these exceptional organizations so struck the popular fancy as that of ‘Corn-stalk Militia.’



THE UNITED STATES TREASURY, WASHINGTON CITY.

“Governor Chase at once essayed the formation of similarly uniformed and equipped militia companies at all leading points throughout the State, with a provisional organization into regiments and brigades. At first the popular ridicule only was excited; by and by attention to the subject was slowly aroused. Some legislative support was secured, a new arsenal was established; an issue of new arms was obtained from the general government; and an approximation was at last made to a military peace establishment. Such was the interest finally excited that at one time a convention of nearly two hundred officers assembled at Columbus to consult as to the best means of developing and fostering the militia system; and the next year, before going out of office, Governor Chase had the satisfaction of reviewing, at Dayton, nearly thirty companies, assembled from different parts of the State—every one of which was soon to participate in the war that was then so near and so little anticipated. His successor continued the general policy thus inaugurated, urged the legislature to pay the militia for the time spent in drill, and enforced the necessity of expanding the system. Comparatively little was accomplished, and yet the organization of Ohio militia was far superior to that existing in any of the States to the westward. All of them combined did not possess so large a militia force as the First Ohio Regiment, then under the command of Colonel King, of Dayton.

“Thus, materially prosperous and politically progressive, yet with much of the leaven of her ancient conservatism still lingering, and with the closest affiliations of friendship and trade with the slave-holding States of the

Ohio and Mississippi valleys, but with the germs of a preparation for hostilities, and such a nucleus of militia as might serve to protect the border from immediate ravages, Ohio entered upon the year that was to witness the paralysis of her industry and trade, the sundering of her old friendships, her political revolution, and the devotion of her entire energies to the business of war.

“The legislative and executive departments of the State government, upon which were precipitated the weightiest burdens of the war, had been chosen as representatives rather of the average antislavery progress of the Whig party, than of the more advanced positions to which ex-Governor Chase had been committing his supporters. Great pains were taken to welcome the legislatures of Kentucky and Tennessee on their visit to Columbus, and to convince them of the warm friendship borne them, not less by the government than by the people of the State. Union-saving speeches and resolutions marked the popular current; and, as had long been usual, the Union-saving temper went largely toward the surrender to the South of everything save the absolutely vital points in controversy. The governor, in his inaugural address, while firmly insisting upon hostility to the extension of slavery, had also advocated the colonization of the blacks in Central or South America, and faithful obedience to what were regarded as our constitutional obligations to the slave-holding States. A leading member of the party in the Senate* had introduced a bill to prevent by heavy penalties the organization or the giving of any aid to

* Hon. R. D. Harrison, afterward elected from the Seventh District, to succeed ex-Governor Corwin in Congress.

parties like John Brown's, and it had come within three votes of a passage.

“ More striking proof of the conciliatory disposition with which the legislature was animated was to be given. The constitutional amendment carried through Congress by Thomas Corwin, and submitted to the legislatures of the several States for ratification, provided that hereafter no amendment or other change in the powers of government should be permitted, whereby the national authorities should be enabled to interfere with slavery within its present limits. Before the beginning of actual hostilities in Charleston Harbor, it was apparent that, carrying the effort for conciliation to the farthest extreme, the heavy Republican majority in the legislature meant to give the sanction of Ohio to this irreversible guarantee to slavery in the fundamental law of the land. Before its place on the Senate calendar was reached, however, came the bombardment of Sumter, the surrender, and the call of the President to protect the capital from the danger of sudden capture by the conspirators. On the 15th of April, Columbus was wild with the excitement of the call to arms. On the 16th the feeling was even more intense; troops were arriving, the telegraphs and mails were burdened with exhortations to the legislature to grant money and men to any extent; the very air came laden with the clamor of war, and of the swift, hot haste of the people to plunge into it. On the 17th, while every pulse around them was at fever-heat, the senators of Ohio, as a last effort, passed the Corwin constitutional amendment, only eight members out of the whole Senate opposing it.*

* The eight who had the foresight to perceive that the 17th of April.

“ But this was the last effort at conciliation. Thenceforward the State strove to conquer rather than to compromise. Already, on the 16th of April, within less than twenty-four hours after the President’s call for troops had been received, the Senate had matured, carried through the several readings, and passed a bill appropriating one million of dollars for placing the State upon a war footing, and for assisting the general government in meeting the shock of the rebellion.*

“ The debate which preceded the rapid passage of this bill illustrated the melting away of party lines under the white heat of patriotism. Senator Orr, the Democratic representative of the Crawford County Senatorial District, ‘ was opposed to the war, and even to the purposes of the bill, but he should vote for it as the best means of testifying his hostility to secession.’ Judge

1861, was not a time to be striving to add security to slavery were, Messrs. Buck, Cox, Garfield, Glass, Monroe, Morse, Parrish, and Smith.

* Some days earlier a bill had been introduced appropriating a hundred thousand dollars for war purposes. On a hint from the executive that perhaps other and more important measures might be needed, action was delayed. Then the million war bill was introduced, in response to a message from Governor Dennison, announcing the call from Washington, maintaining the necessity for defending the integrity of the Union, and concluding as follows :

“ But as the contest may grow to greater dimensions than is now anticipated, I deem it my duty to recommend to the General Assembly of this State to make provisions proportionate to its means to assist the National authorities in restoring the integrity and strength of the Union, in all its amplitude, as the only means of preserving the rights of all the States, and insuring the permanent peace and prosperity of the whole country. I earnestly recommend, also, that an appropriation of not less than four hundred and fifty thousand dollars be immediately made for the purchase of arms and equipments for the use of the volunteer militia of the State. I need not remind you of the pressing exigency for the prompt organization and arming of the military force of the State.”

Thomas M. Key, of Cincinnati, the ablest Democrat in the Senate, followed.* He, too, was in favor of the bill. 'Yet he felt it in his soul to be an unwarranted declaration of war against seven sister States. He entered his solemn protest against the line of action announced by the executive. It was an usurpation by a President, in whom and in whose advisers he had no confidence; it was the beginning of a military despotism. He firmly believed it to be the desire of the administration to drive off the border States, and permanently sever the Union. But he was opposed to secession, and in this contest he could do no otherwise than stand by the stars and stripes.' Next came Mr. Moore, of Butler county, conspicuous as the most conservative of those reckoned at all with the Republican party in the Senate; in fact as almost the ideal of the old 'Silver-Gray Whig.'† Hitherto he had voted consistently against all military bills, and had even avowed his readiness to surrender the Southern forts rather than bring on a collision. 'Now he felt called upon to do the most painful duty of his life. But there was only one course left. He had no words of bitterness for party with which to mar the solemnity of the hour. This only he had to say: He could do nothing else than stand by the grand old flag of the country, and stand by it to the end. He should vote for the bill.'

"Thus, to recur to the figure already used, did the iron rules of party discipline and prejudice, melting beneath the white heat of patriotism, still mark in broken outline the old divisions beneath and through which the

* Subsequently colonel and judge-advocate on McClellan's staff.

† Subsequently colonel of one of the hundred days' regiments.

molten currents freely mingled. The bill passed by an almost unanimous vote; one senator only, Mr. Newman, of Scioto county, voting against it.*

“ In the House, however, party opposition gave way more slowly. That same afternoon the bill went over from the Senate, and an effort was made to suspend the rules, so as to put it upon its passage. The Democrats demanded time for consultation. Mr. Wm. B. Woods † (ex-Speaker and Democratic leader) gave notice that it could not be unanimously passed without time were given. For one, he wanted to hear from his constituents. Mr. Geo. W. Andrews, ‡ of Auglaize county, denounced the excitement on the subject of war, here and over the country, as crazy fanaticism. Mr. Devore, of Brown county, ‘regarded the interests of the country, south of the Ohio River as well as north of it. The despatches about the danger to Washington were preposterous, and were mostly manufactured for evil purposes.’ Mr. Jesup, of Hamilton county, gave notice that if the majority wanted his vote they must wait for it. And so, the Republicans agreeing to delay in the hope of securing harmony, the bill went over, after two ineffectual efforts to suspend the rules.||

* Under the terrible pressure of public condemnation, especially in his own district, Mr. Newman shortly afterward asked leave to change his vote.

† Subsequently colonel of a three years' regiment, and brevet major-general of volunteers.

‡ Subsequently Colonel of the Fifteenth Ohio in the three months' service, and Lieutenant-Colonel, until after the Clarksville surrender, of the Seventy-fourth Ohio.

|| In these efforts twenty-five Democrats voted against suspending the rules, fourteen voted with the Republicans for suspension, and eight were absent when the roll was called.

“The next day, the Democrats having in the meantime spent three hours in excited debate in caucus, the effort to suspend the rules again failed. But the leaders earnestly assured the house that with another day’s delay there was a strong probability of the unanimous passage of the bill. A despatch had already been received from Scioto county, denouncing Senator Newman for his vote against it in the Senate, and it was said that his son was enlisted in one of the companies then on the way to Columbus. Mr. Hutcheson, of Madison county, an extreme States’-Rights Democrat, and almost a secessionist, spoke handsomely in favor of the bill, and drew out hearty applause from house and galleries. But delay was still insisted upon, and so the bill went over to the third day from the date of its introduction.

“Then all were ready. Ex-Speaker Woods led off in a stirring little speech, declaring his intention ‘to stand by the Government in peace or in war, right or wrong.’ Mr. William J. Flagg, of Hamilton county, followed. ‘He was glad that delay had produced unanimity. But he had been of the number that had favored instant action. He had done so because Jefferson Davis had shown no hesitation in suspending the rules, and marching through first, second, and third readings without waiting to hear from his constituents. He had ever advocated peace, but it was always peace *for* the Union. Now he was ready for peace for the Union, or war for it, love for it, hatred for it, everything for it.’ Mr. Andrews, of Auglaize county, had less to say of the crazy fanaticism of the excitement. ‘The act of South Carolina toward the Democrats of the North was a crime for which

the English language could find no description. It had forever severed the last tie that bound them together.'

"Amid such displays of feeling on the part of the opposition, the bill finally went through, on the 18th of April, by an unanimous vote; ninety-nine in its favor. It appropriated half a million dollars for the purpose of carrying into effect any requisition of the President to protect the national government; four hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the purchase of arms and equipments for the militia of the State; and the remaining fifty thousand as an extraordinary contingent fund for the governor. The Commissioners of the Sinking Fund were authorized to borrow the money, at six per cent. interest, and to issue certificates therefor which should be free from State taxation.

"Meantime the Senate, under the leadership of Mr. Garfield, had matured and passed a bill defining and providing punishment for the crime of treason against the State of Ohio. It declared any resident of the State who gave aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States guilty of treason against the State, to be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary at hard labor for life.*

"With the passage of these bills all semblance of party opposition to necessary war measures disappeared from the proceedings of the legislature. Mr. Vallandigham visited the capital and earnestly remonstrated with the Democrats for giving their sanction to the war; but the patriotic enthusiasm of the crisis could not be controlled by party discipline. Under the leadership of ex-

* This bill was understood at the time to be specially aimed at Mr. Vallandigham.

Speaker Woods, a bill passed exempting the property of volunteers from execution for debt during their service. Then, as within a few days it became evident that far more troops were pressing for acceptance than were needed to fill the President's call for thirteen regiments, the legislature acceded to the sagacious suggestion of the governor that they should be retained for the service of the State. The bill authorized the acceptance of ten additional regiments, provided five hundred thousand dollars for their payment, and a million and a half more to be used in case of invasion of the State, or the appearance of danger of invasion. Other measures were adopted looking to the danger of shipments of arms through Ohio to the South; organizing the militia of the State; providing suitable officers for duty on the staff of the governor; requiring contracts for subsistence of the volunteers to be let to the lowest bidder; authorizing the appointment of additional general officers. No little hostility toward some members of Governor Dennison's staff was exhibited, but with the governor himself the relations of the legislature were entirely harmonious. In concert with him the war legislation was completed; and when, within a month after the first note of alarm from Washington the General Assembly adjourned, the State was, for the first time in its history, on a war footing.

“ Before the adjournment the acting speaker had resigned to take a command in one of the regiments starting for Washington; two leading senators had been appointed brigadier-generals; and large numbers of the other members had, in one capacity or another, entered

the service. It was the first of the war legislatures. It met the first shock; under the sudden pressure matured the first military laws. It labored under difficulties inseparable from so unexpected a plunge into duties so novel. But it may now be safely said that in patriotism, in zeal and ability, it was second to neither of its successors, and that in the exuberance of patriotic sentiment which wiped out party lines and united all in common efforts to meet the sudden danger, it surpassed them both.

“Although the country had been greatly excited by the acts of secession by the several States, the seizure of forts, and the defiance of the general government, there still lingered in the minds of the most a trust that in some way the matter would be adjusted and bloodshed would be avoided. There was much talk of war on the part of the young and excitable, but the influential men and the masses were slow to believe in the possibility of war.

“Before the bombardment of Fort Sumter had ended twenty full companies were offered to the Governor of Ohio for immediate service. With the news of the surrender and the call of the President for volunteers, the excitement became fervidly intense. Militia officers telegraphed their readiness for orders. The President of Kenyon College tendered his services in any capacity, and began by enlisting in the ranks. The Cleveland Grays, the Rover Guards, the Columbus Videttes, the State Fencibles, the Governor’s Guards, the Dayton Light Guards, the Guthrie Grays—the best known and best drilled militia companies in the State—held meetings, and unani-

mously voted to place themselves at the disposal of the Government, and telegraphed to Columbus for orders. Portsmouth announced a company ready to march. Chillicothe asked if she should send a company that day. Circleville telegraphed offering one or more companies, announcing that they had two thousand dollars raised to equip them. Xenia asked leave to raise a battery of artillery and a company of infantry. Canton sent up an officer, begging the acceptance of two companies. Lebanon wanted two companies accepted. Springfield wanted the same. Lancaster started a company to Columbus. Cincinnati, Dayton, Cleveland counted their offers by the thousand. Steedman, from Toledo, pledged a full regiment in ten days. Prominent men, all over the State, telegraphed asking what they could do, and placing themselves at the disposal of the authorities. The instant, all devouring blaze of excited patriotism was as amazing as it was unprecedented. Let it not be forgotten that among the first offers were some from colored men promising companies, and that, in obedience to the temper of those times, they were refused.

* * * * *

“ But a single day was required to raise the first two regiments in answer to the President’s call. On the next they arrived, in separate companies, at Columbus, on their way, as it proved, to Washington. . . On the morning of the 18th of April the First and Second Ohio were organized from the first companies that had thus hurried to Columbus. They were mostly made up of well known militia organizations from leading towns and cities.

“ There were no arms, uniforms, equipments, transpor-

tation for them. But the Government was importunate. 'Send them on instantly,' was the order from Washington, 'and we will equip them here.' Even among the civilians, then for the first time attempting the management of soldiers, there were forebodings concerning the policy of starting troops to defend a threatened city without guns or ammunition; but with wild cheers from the volunteers, and many a 'God bless you' from the on-lookers, the trains bearing the unarmed crowd moved out of the Columbus depot, long before dawn, on the morning of the 19th of April. But before they started, fresh arrivals had more than filled their places in the hastily improvised camp in the woods beyond the railroad depot, which, with a happy thought of the first advocate for the 'coercion of sovereign states,' Governor Dennison had named Camp Jackson.

* * * * *

"What it now remains to us to tell of the first war administration of Ohio, constitutes the highest claim of the maligned governor to the regard and gratitude of his state and of the country. To a man of his sensitive temper and special desire for the good opinion of others, the unjust and measureless abuse to which his earnest efforts had subjected him were agonizing. But he suffered no sign to escape him, and with a single-hearted devotion, and an ability for which the State had not credited him, he proceeded to the measures most necessary in the crisis.

"First of all, the loan authorized by the Million War Bill was to be placed, for without money the State could do nothing. The common council of Cincinnati offered to

take a quarter of a million of it, and backed its offer by forwarding the money. The State bank, full of confidence in its old officer, now at the head of the administration, was entirely willing to take the rest; the common council of Columbus was willing to take a hundred thousand dollars; and offers speedily came in for smaller amounts from other quarters. The governor was anxious, however, that a general opportunity should be given to patriotic citizens throughout the State. He therefore discouraged somewhat the large subscribers, and soon had the loan favorably placed.

“Next after money came the demand for arms. For its twenty-three regiments already raised, the State of Ohio had only one thousand nine hundred and eighty-four muskets and rifles of all calibres, and one hundred and fifty sabres. The Governor of Illinois had on hands a considerable number, of which Dennison heard. He at once resolved to procure them. Senator Garfield was at hand, ready and willing for any work to which he might be assigned. Duly armed with a requisition from the proper authorities, he was dispatched to the Illinois capital. He succeeded in securing five thousand muskets, and shipped them straightway to Columbus. At the same time—for the governor, in the midst of the popular abuse, had already begun to display a capacity for broad and statesmanlike views—he was instructed to lay before the Illinois executive a suggestion as to the propriety of uniting the Illinois troops and all others in the Mississippi Valley under the Ohio major-general. Glad to hear of an officer anywhere who knew anything about war, they joyfully consented, and so McClellan’s

department was, with their full approval, presently extended from West Virginia to the Mississippi.

“Five thousand arms, however, were but a drop in the bucket, and accoutrements were almost wholly wanting. The supply in the entire country was quite limited; even in Europe there were not enough immediately accessible to meet the sudden demand; and it was evident that the first and most energetic in the market would be the first to secure arms for their soldiers. Governor Dennison accordingly selected Judge-Advocate-General Wolcott of his staff, a gentleman of fine ability and of supposed business capacity, to proceed forthwith to New York as his agent for the purchase of arms. It was under his management that the hasty shipment of tent-poles had been made, on which was based one of the earliest complaints against the State administration. He secured at once, on terms as favorable as could then be obtained, about five thousand muskets, with equipments, knapsacks, canteens, etc., to correspond. Meeting the agent of the State of Massachusetts, just as he was about to sail for England to purchase arms, he commissioned him to purchase there, for Ohio, a hundred thousand dollars worth of Enfield rifles. Subsequently Mr. Wolcott secured authority from the Ordnance Office of the War Department, to purchase directly, on the account of the United States, such arms and accoutrements as were needed for Ohio troops; and the energy and personal supervision which the governor was thus able to secure in the transaction of the government business for his State, went largely to aid the rapid arming and equipment of the Ohio troops. Before this, however,

by the aid of another agent, General Wool had been prevailed upon to order ten thousand muskets through to Columbus, and the first needs were thus supplied."

To all of Governor Dennison's efforts, Mr. Garfield gave a cordial and active support, and rendered the most valuable assistance in the task of putting the State in condition to do its full duty in the great struggle which had now fairly opened.

CHAPTER III.

THE COLLEGE PRESIDENT BECOMES A BRIGADIER-GENERAL.

Mr. Garfield organizes a Military Company among his Students—Is made Lieutenant-Colonel—Is Promoted to be Colonel of the Forty-second Ohio Infantry—Organization and History of the Regiment—A Noble Record—The Forty-second ordered to the field—Joins General Buell's Army in Kentucky—Garfield is placed in Command of a Brigade—State of affairs in the West—Garfield's first Campaign—An Important Trust—The March up the Sandy Valley—The First Blow struck—Rout of the Rebel Cavalry—Colonel Garfield wins a handsome Victory over Humphrey Marshall at Middle Creek—Flight of Marshall's Forces—Garfield sets the Ball of Victory in motion—A true estimate of the Victory of Middle Creek—A New Dodge—Out of Supplies—The Flood in the Big Sandy—Garfield forces a Steamboat to ascend the River—Garfield at the Wheel—A Thrilling Incident—Garfield wins another Victory—Drives the Rebels from Pound Gap—Is ordered to Louisville—Is congratulated by General Buell in General Orders—Value of his Operations.

As has been stated, it was Mr. Garfield's intention from the first to enter the army. He was not able to carry this intention into effect until after his return from Illinois, whither he had been sent to purchase arms, as has been related. He now set to work to organize a command, which was mainly recruited from among the students of Hiram Eclectic Institute. This company was promptly offered for service, and constituted the nucleus of the Forty-second Ohio Regiment, of which organization Mr. Garfield was appointed lieutenant-colonel by

Governor Denison. Mr. Garfield might have been appointed colonel of the regiment had he chosen to press the matter, but with characteristic modesty he refrained from doing so, and accepted the position offered to him, though it was inferior to the rank he was entitled to expect. He declared his entire willingness to start low, and learn as he advanced. Five weeks were devoted to organizing and drilling the regiment, and about the time it was complete, and ready for service, Garfield was promoted, without any solicitation on his part, to the colonelcy.

It will be interesting to the reader to know the subsequent history of this gallant regiment. The following list of its officers and the account of its brilliant career are taken from Whitelaw Reid's "Ohio in the War."

42D REGIMENT OHIO VOLUNTEER INFANTRY.

ROSTER, THREE YEARS' SERVICE.

RANK.	NAME.	DATE OF RANK.	COM. ISSUED.	REMARKS.
Colonel ..	JAMES A. GARFIELD	Aug. 14, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Appointed Brig.-Gen. Vols.
Do. ..	LIONEL A. SHELDON	Mar. 14, 1862	Mar. 28, 1862	Mustered out.
Lt.-Col. . .	LIONEL A. SHELDON	Sept. 6, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Promoted to Colonel.
Do. ..	DON A. PARDEE	Mar. 14, 1862	Mar. 28, 1862	Must'd out Oct. 26, 1864.
Major ..	DON A. PARDEE	Sept. 5, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Promoted to Lieut.-Col.
Do. ..	FRED. A. WILLIAMS	Mar. 14, 1862	Mar. 28, 1862	Died July 25, 1862.
Do. ..	WM. H. WILLIAMS	July 25, "	Oct 6, "	Mustered out.
Surgeon..	JOEL POMERENE	Sept. 7, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Resigned July 26, 1863.
Ass't Sur.	JOSEPH W. HARMON	Oct. 3, "	" 14, "	Resigned Nov. 9, 1862.
Do. ..	J. N. MINER	Aug. 26, 1862	Aug. 27, 1862	Died Dec. 13, 1862.
Do. ..	JOSEPH KALB	Mar. 10, 1863	Mar. 10, 1863	Resigned Aug. 27, 1864.
Do. ..	JOHN W. DRISCOLL	" 21, "	" 10, "	Resigned July 1, 1863.
Do. ..	H. E. WARNER	Nov. 10, "	Nov. 10, "	Mustered out.
Chaplain.	JEFFERSON H. JONES	" 21, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Resigned April 18, 1863.
Captain ..	T. C. Bushnell	Aug. 27, "	Mar. 6, 1862	Resigned Oct. 22, 1862.
Do. ..	Wm. H. Williams	Sept. 3, "	" 6, "	Prom'd to Major July 25, 1862.
Do. ..	Chas. H. Howe	" 15, "	" 6, "	Resigned May 27, 1863.
Do. ..	James H. Riggs	" 17, "	" 6, "	Resigned Dec. 31, 1863.
Do. ..	Chas. P. Jewett	" 19, "	" 6, "	Resigned July 11, 1863.

RANK.	NAMR.	DATE OF RANK.	COM. ISSUED.	REMARKS.
Captain..	Frederick A. Williams.	Sept. 20, 1861	Mar. 6, 1862	Promoted to Major.
Do. ..	Andrew Gardner, jr...	" 28, "	" 6, "	Resigned Jan. 28, 1863.
Do. ..	Seth M. Barber.....	Nov. 2, "	" 6, "	Honorably dis'd Mar. 6, 1864.
Do. ..	Horace H. Willard.....	" 18, "	" 6, "	Honorably dis'd Jan. 3, 1864.
Do. ..	Rollin B. Lynch.....	" 26, "	" 6, "	Resigned March 3, 1863.
Do. ..	Wm. N. Starr.....	Mar. 14, "	Apr. 14, "	Revoked.
Do. ..	Wm. W. Olds.....	" 14, "	" 14, "	Killed May 1, 1863.
Do. ..	Horace Potter.....	July 25, "	Oct. 6, "	Mustered out Sept. 30, 1865.
Do. ..	Wm. N. Starr.....	Oct. 22, "	Nov. 17, "	Mustered out Sept. 30, 1865.
Do. ..	Melvin H. Benham.....	Mar. 3, "	Apr. 22, 1863	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Thomas L. Hutchins....	Jan. 28, 1863	" 9, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Edward B. Campbell..	May 27, "	June 26, "	Transferred to and mustered out with 96th O. V. I.
Do. ..	J. S. Ross.....	" 1, "	" 10, "	Mustered out Sept. 30, 1864.
Do. ..	Porter S. Foskett.....	July 11, "	" 10, "	Honorably dis'd Apr. 30, 1864.
Do. ..	David N. Prince.....	Jan. 1, 1864	Jan. 29, 1864	Mustered out.
Do. ..	John B. Helman.....	May 9, "	May 9, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	George K. Pardee.....	" 25, "	" 25, "	Resigned Sept. 24, 1864.
Do. ..	Alvin J. Dyer.....	July 25, "	July 25, "	Mustered out.
1st Lieut.	Wm. W. Olds.....	Aug. 14, 1861	Aug. 30, 1861	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Joseph D. Stubbs.....	" 16, "	Dec. 14, "	App. A. Q. M. of vols.; mustered out Nov. 13, 1862.
Do. ..	Wm. N. Starr.....	" 31, "	" 14, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Horace Potter.....	Sept. 31, "	" 14, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	George F. Brady.....	" 15, "	" 14, "	Resigned March 27, 1862.
Do. ..	Herman Suæbedissen..	" 17, "	" 14, "	Resigned April 3, 1862.
Do. ..	David Scott.....	" 17, "	" 14, "	Resigned Jan. 31, 1862.
Do. ..	Howard S. Bates.....	" 20, "	" 14, "	Resigned Feb. 8, 1862.
Do. ..	Thomas L. Hutchins....	" 28, "	" 14, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Orlando C. Rison.....	Oct. 7, "	" 14, "	Transferred to colored reg't.
Do. ..	Wm. S. Spencer.....	Nov. 9, "	" 14, "	Resigned June 11, 1862.
Do. ..	Timothy G. Loomis....	" 12, "	" 14, "	Resigned June 5, 1862.
Do. ..	Marion Knight.....	Feb. 28, 1862	Feb. 28, 1862	Resigned June 6, 1862.
Do. ..	Edwin D. Saunders.....	Mar. 17, "	Mar. 17, "	Promoted to regular army.
Do. ..	John R. Helman.....	" 14, "	Apr. 14, "	Revoked.
Do. ..	Melvin H. Benham.....	" 27, "	" 14, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Wm. H. Clapp.....	" 14, "	May 5, "	App. Cap. A. A. G. May 15, '63
Do. ..	Edward B. Campbell..	June 6, "	June 24, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	David N. Prince.....	" 5, "	Oct. 6, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	John B. Helman.....	" 11, "	" 24, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	J. S. Ross.....	July 25, "	" 6, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Porter S. Foskett.....	" 25, "	" 6, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Charles B. Howk.....	Oct. 22, "	Nov. 17, "	Resigned Oct. 23, 1863.
Do. ..	Alvin J. Dyer.....	Nov. 13, "	Dec. 31, "	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	George K. Pardee.....	Jan. 28, 1863	Apr. 9, 1863	Promoted to Captain.
Do. ..	Charles P. Goodwin....	Mar. 3, "	" 22, "	Resigned Aug. 5, 1863.
Do. ..	James T. Henry.....	May 27, "	June 26, "	Resigned June 29, 1864.
Do. ..	Charles E. Henry.....	" 1, "	" 10, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Wm. L. Wilson.....	" 28, "	" 10, "	Resigned Sept. 24, 1864.
Do. ..	Henry C. Jennings....	Dec. 16, "	Jan. 28, "	Resigned as 2d Lieut.
Do. ..	Albert L. Bowman.....	July 11, "	Aug. 10, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Joseph D. Moody.....	Feb. 26, 1864	Feb. 26, 1864	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Augustus B. Hubbell..	" 26, "	" 26, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	John F. Flynn.....	" 26, "	" 26, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Peter Miller.....	Oct. 23, 1863	Dec. 31, 1863	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Henry A. Howard.....	May 9, 1864	May 9, 1864	Mustered out Sept. 30, 1864.
Do. ..	Matthew Rodecker....	" 9, "	" 9, "	Resigned Sept. 24, 1864.
Do. ..	Calvin Pierce.....	" 25, "	" 25, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Horace S. Clark.....	July 25, "	July 25, "	Mustered out.
Do. ..	Lester K. Lewis.....	" 25, "	" 25, "	Mustered out.
2d Lieut.	John R. Helman.....	Sept. 4, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Prom. to 1st Lt. June 11, 1862.
Do. ..	Wm. L. Wilson.....	" 17, "	" 14, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Andrew J. Stone.....	" 19, "	" 14, "	Died.
Do. ..	Wm. H. Clapp.....	" 20, "	" 14, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Joseph Lackey.....	" 22, "	" 14, "	Resigned July 5, 1862.
Do. ..	Horace H. Willard....	Oct. 4, "	" 14, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Samuel H. Cole.....	" 5, "	" 14, "	Resigned May 9, 1862.

RANK.	NAME.	DATE OF RANK.	COM. ISSUED.	REMARKS.
2d Lieut.	Melvin H. Benham....	Oct. 10, 1861	Dec. 14, 1861	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Edwin C. Leach.....	Nov. 2, "	" 14, "	Resigned June 5, 1862.
Do. ..	Porter H. Foskett.....	" 22, "	" 14, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Marion Knight.....	" 26, "	" 14, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Wm. L. Steward.....	Feb. 28, 1862	Mar. 20, 1862	Resigned Nov. 13, 1862.
Do. ..	Edward B. Campbell..	Mar. 20, "	" 20, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Henry C. Jennings...	" 9, "	Apr. 14, "	Resigned.
Do. ..	Charles P. Goodwin...	" 27, "	" 14, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	J. S. Ross.....	" 14, "	May 7, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	John F. Robinson.....	June 6, "	June 24, "	Transferred to colored reg't.
Do. ..	Peter Miller.....	July 5, "	Sept. 8, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Calvin C. Marquis....	" 25, "	Oct. 6, "	Declined.
Do. ..	Charles E. Henry.....	" 25, "	" 6, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Charles B. Howk.....	June 11, "	" 6, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	James T. Henry.....	" 11, "	" 6, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	James S. Bowlby.....	" 5, "	" 6, "	Resigned Jan. 9, 1864.
Do. ..	George K. Pardee.....	Oct. 22, "	Nov. 17, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Joseph D. Moody.....	July 25, "	" 17, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Augustus B. Hubbell..	Nov. 13, "	Dec. 24, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Albert L. Bowman.....	Jan. 28, 1863	Apr. 2, 1863	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Henry Howard.....	Mar. 3, "	" 22, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	John Flynn.....	Apr. 1, "	July 20, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Matthew Rodecker....	May 1, "	June 10, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Calvin Pierce.....	" 28, "	" 10, "	Promoted to 1st Lieut.
Do. ..	Horace S. Clark.....	" 25, 1864	May 25, 1864	Promoted to 1st Lieut.

"THE Forty-second Ohio was organized at Camp Chase, near Columbus, Ohio. Companies A, B, C, and D were mustered into the service September 25, 1861; company E, October 30th; company F, November 12th; and companies G, H, I, and K, November 26th, at which time the organization was completed.

"On the 14th of December orders were received to take the field, and on the following day it moved by railroad to Cincinnati, and thence by steamer up the Ohio River to Catlettsburg, Kentucky, where it arrived the morning of December 17th. The regiment, together with the Fourteenth Kentucky Infantry and McLaughlin's squadron of Ohio cavalry, proceeded to Louisa, Kentucky, and moved forward to Green Creek. The whole command advanced December 31st, and by the night of January 7, 1862, encamped within three miles of Paintsville, and the next morning five companies, under com-

mand of Lieutenant-Colonel Sheldon, took possession of the village. On the evening of the same day Garfield took the Forty-second and two companies of the Fourteenth Kentucky, and advanced against Marshall's fortified position, about three miles south of the village of Paintsville. The infantry reached the works about nine o'clock P. M., found them evacuated, and everything valuable either carried away or destroyed; and after an all-night march, returned to Paintsville a little after daylight.

“About noon on the 9th, Colonel Garfield, with eleven hundred infantry from the Forty-second Ohio and other regiments, and about six hundred cavalry, started in pursuit of Marshall, and about nine o'clock in the evening the advance was fired upon by Marshall's pickets, on the summit of Abbott's Hill. Garfield took possession of the hill, bivouacked for the night, and the next morning continued the pursuit, overtaking the enemy at the forks of Middle Creek, three miles south-west of Prestonburgh. Marshall's force consisted of about three thousand five hundred men, infantry and cavalry, with three pieces of artillery. Major Pardee, with four hundred men, was sent across Middle Creek to attack Marshall directly in front, and Lieutenant-Colonel Monroe (Twenty-second Kentucky) was directed to attack on Marshall's right flank. The fight at once opened with considerable spirit, and Pardee and Monroe became hotly engaged with a force four times as large as their own. They held their ground with great obstinacy and bravery until re-enforcements reached the field, when the enemy commenced to fall back. The national forces slept upon their arms, and at early dawn a reconnoissance disclosed

the fact that Marshall had burned his stores and had fled, leaving a portion of his dead upon the field.

“On the 11th the command took possession of Prestonburgh, Kentucky, and on the 12th returned to Paintsville, and went into camp until the first of February, when the force moved by boats up the Big Sandy to Pikeville. On the 14th of March the regiment, with other troops, took possession of Pound Gap and destroyed the enemy's camp and stores. The regiment was engaged in several other expeditions against the guerrillas. The arduous nature of the campaign, the exceedingly disagreeable weather, and the want of supplies, were disastrous to the health of the troops, and some eighty-five of the Forty-second died of disease.

“On the 18th of March the regiment received orders to proceed to Louisville, where it arrived and went into camp on the 29th. The Forty-second was attached to Brigadier-General George W. Morgan's command, and moved by rail to Lexington, Kentucky, and from there marched to Cumberland Ford, with three hundred and fourteen men for duty. At Cumberland Ford the regiment was brigaded with the Sixteenth Ohio, the Fourteenth and Twenty-second Kentucky, Colonel John F. De Courcey (Sixteenth Ohio) commanding. On the 15th of May the brigade crossed the Cumberland River and encamped at the junction of the roads leading to Cumberland Gap and Rogers' Gap. On the 5th of June Morgan's entire command took up the line of march to cross the mountains into the rear of Cumberland Gap. Moving by way of Rogers' Gap into Powell's Valley, the advance was unopposed until it reached Rogers'

Gap. When a series of skirmishes ensued, nearly all of them between the Forty-second and the enemy. At one o'clock A. M., June 18th, Morgan moved against a force at Big Spring, the Forty-second leading; but the enemy fled, and Morgan moved toward Cumberland Gap, reaching it at five P. M., and found it had been evacuated a few hours before. The Forty-second at once moved into the Gap, and was the first regiment to plant its flag on this stronghold. The regiment camped on the extreme right, near Yellow Creek, performing heavy picket duty, and being frequently on expeditions. It skirmished at Baptist's Gap, at Tazewell, and on the 5th of August engaged and held back the advance of the army with which Kirby Smith invaded Kentucky.

“On the morning of the 6th a heavy force attacked the brigade two miles beyond Tazewell, and it fell back leisurely to Cumberland Gap. Company E, of the Forty-second, escorted a forage train, and was nearly surrounded, but by shrewdness and gallantry it saved the train and escaped without loss. The Gap was finally evacuated, and the forces fell back through Manchester, crossed the Kentucky River at Proctor, and crossed the Ohio at Greenupsburg. The regiment acted as rear guard during the march. When the Forty-second left the Gap it numbered seven hundred and fifty men, and while on the march there were issued to it two hundred and seventy-five pounds of flour, four hundred pounds of bacon, and two rations of fresh pork; the rest of the food consisted of corn, grated down on tin plates and cooked upon them. The distance marched was two hundred and fifty miles; the weather was very dry, and the men suf-

ferred for water. They were without shoes, and their clothing was ragged and filthy. The Forty-second lost but one man on the retreat from all causes, and it was the only regiment that brought through its knapsacks and blankets. These proved of great service, as the men were compelled to camp at Portland, Jackson County, Ohio, two weeks before clothing, camp, and garrison equipage could be furnished them.

“On the 21st of October the regiment proceeded to Gallipolis, and thence up the Kanawha to Charlestown, Virginia. It returned to the Ohio, November 10th, and embarked for Cincinnati, and moved from there down to Memphis, encamping near the city on the 28th. While at Portland, Ohio, the regiment received one hundred and three recruits, and at Memphis it received sixty-five more. It had from time to time obtained a few, so that the whole number reached two hundred or more, and the regiment could turn out on parade nearly nine hundred men. General Morgan's division was reorganized, and was denominated the Ninth Division, Thirteenth Army Corps.

“On the 20th of December, the Forty-second, with other troops, under General W. T. Sherman, embarked at Memphis, and proceeding down the river, landed at Johnston's plantation on the Yazoo. The Forty-second led the advance against the defenses of Vicksburg on the 27th of December, and skirmished with the enemy until dark. The next morning the regiment resumed the attack against the enemy thrown out beyond their works, and protected in front by timber and lagoon. The regiment continued to advance, without driving the

enemy, until Colonel Pardee ordered a charge, which was made with great spirit, and resulted in gaining possession of the woods and driving the rebels into their works. About nine o'clock A. M. on the 29th, a charge was made, the Forty-second being on the extreme right of the assaulting column. The storm of shot and shell was terrific, but the regiment maintained its organization, and came off the field in good order. During the remainder of the engagement the regiment held its position in line. The army finally retired, re-embarked, and moved to Milliken's Bend.

"On the 4th of January, 1863, the fleet steamed up the river to White River, and up it through a "cut-off" into the Arkansas, and up it to Arkansas Post, where the troops disembarked and invested Fort Hindman, De Courcey's brigade being held in reserve. After four hours of severe cannonading the infantry advanced, and, several unsuccessful charges having been made, De Courcey's brigade was ordered to join Sheldon's brigade in assaulting Fort Hindman. The Forty-second led the advance, and, soon after getting fairly under fire, the enemy surrendered. Seven thousand prisoners, all the guns and small arms, and a large quantity of stores were captured.

"In a few days the troops re-embarked, and on the 24th of January landed at Young's Point. Here the Forty-second was allotted its proportion of the work on the canal, and was allowed four days to perform it; but, so vigorous was the regiment in the discharge of its duties, that it accomplished its work in seventeen hours. On the 10th of March the division moved to Milliken's Bend,

where it was soon joined by the remainder of the corps. Here supplies were received, and four weeks were spent in drilling and fitting for the coming campaign.

“The Ninth Division took the advance in the movement toward the rear of Vicksburg. The troops moved to Richmond, Madison Parish, Louisiana, and embarked about thirty miles below Vicksburg, on transports which had run the batteries, and moved down to Grand Gulf. Here they debarked, crossed the point, again took transports, moved down to Bruinsburg, and debarked on the Mississippi side of the river. The division advanced against Port Gibson, and at twelve o'clock at night had a slight engagement with the enemy. The whole corps moved up and bivouacked near Magnolia Church. At daybreak the troops were under arms and advancing. The Ninth Division, taking the left of the line, speedily engaged the enemy, and continued in action until four o'clock P. M. The Forty-second was placed under a heavy fire of artillery at seven o'clock A. M., and continued there until nine o'clock A. M., when it was advanced to the centre of the division line and ordered to charge. The order was obeyed with spirit and courage, but, meeting with unexpected obstacles, the division commander ordered it to retire. It continued skirmishing until twelve o'clock, when it joined the Sixteenth Ohio and Twenty-second Kentucky, and charged a strong position held by the rebels, but, after a brave effort, failed to dislodge them, and was again ordered to retire. It was moved to the right, and about three o'clock P. M. made a third charge, and in conjunction with the Forty-ninth Indiana and One Hundred and Fourteenth Ohio, carried

the enemy's position. In this engagement the regiment sustained a heavier loss than any other one in the corps.

“On the 2d of May the corps advanced and took possession of Port Gibson, and moved on by way of Champion Hills and Big Black Bridge to the rear of Vicksburg. The regiment was engaged both at Champion Hills and Big Black, but the loss was comparatively slight. It participated in the charges on the works at Vicksburg on the 19th and 22d of May, the Ninth Division holding an advanced position in the Thirteenth Corps. In these assaults the regiment lost heavily, especially on the 22d. On the 10th of June the Forty-second was moved toward the right in support of some batteries, where it remained until June 27th, when it moved to Big Black Bridge. After the surrender of Vicksburg the regiment marched to Jackson and participated in the reduction of that place, and then returned to Vicksburg, where it remained until ordered to the Department of the Gulf.

“The regiment arrived at Carrollton, near New Orleans, August 15th, and on the 6th of September started on the Western Louisiana campaign. At Brashear city the Ninth and Twelfth Divisions of the Thirteenth Corps were consolidated, and Brigadier-General Lawler was assigned to the command of the brigade. The brigade moved up to Vermilion Bayou, and from there to Opelousas, where it remained a few days, and returned with the corps to Berwick Bay. On the 18th of November the brigade crossed to Brashear city, with the intention of going into Texas, but the following night it was ordered to Thibodeaux, and proceeded thence by way of Donald-

sonville to Plaquemine, arriving November 21st. The regiment remained here during the winter, and on the 24th of March, 1864, moved to Baton Rouge, and was detailed as provost-guard for the city. On the 1st of May the Forty-second, with other troops, marched on an expedition toward Clinton, Louisiana, engaged an equal force of the enemy for seven hours, and at last drove the rebels five miles through canebrakes and over the Comite River. On this expedition the infantry marched fifty-four miles in eighteen hours. The regiment embarked on boats, May 16th, and reported to General Canby at the mouth of Red River, and moved up to Simmsport, on the Atchafalaya River, where a provisional brigade was formed, comprising the Seventh Kentucky, Twenty-second and Twenty-third Iowa, Thirty-seventh Illinois, and Forty-second Ohio, Colonel Sheldon commanding. Meeting General Banks' army here, the regiment marched to Morganza, Louisiana, with it. The regiment was on several expeditions and in one slight skirmish. Here the Forty-second was attached to the First Brigade, Third Division, Nineteenth Corps. Here, also, a test-drill was held in the Nineteenth Corps, and company E of the Forty-second Ohio, won the first prize.

“ The brigade moved up the Mississippi, July 15th, and landed at the mouth of White River. While lying here a detachment of the regiment crossed into Mississippi, marched fifteen miles, captured two small parties of rebels, and returned within ten hours. The brigade moved up to St. Charles, on White River, and after working ten days on the fortifications, made an expedition of some sixty miles into the country. On the 6th of August the

brigade returned to Morganza, and on the 6th of September moved to the mouth of White River again. Companies A, B, C, and D were ordered to Camp Chase, Ohio, September 15th, and were mustered out September 30th. The remaining six companies were ordered to Duvall's Bluff, Arkansas. Companies E and F were mustered out November 25th, and the other four companies were mustered out December 2, 1864. One hundred and one men remained, whose term of service had not expired, and they were organized into a company and assigned to the Ninety-sixth Ohio.

“The regiment bears upon its banners the names of eleven battles, in which it lost one officer and twenty men killed, and eighteen officers and three hundred and twenty-five men wounded.”

On the 14th of December the Forty-second Ohio received orders to take the field. The regiment was ordered to Catlettsburg, Kentucky, and Colonel Garfield was directed to report in person to General Buell, of whose army his command was to form a part. He did so promptly, and was cordially received by General Buell, who, though holding opinions diametrically opposed to those of Colonel Garfield, was a true soldier, and at once recognized that his young subordinate was made of the right kind of material.

On the 17th of December, Garfield was assigned by General Buell to the command of the Seventeenth Brigade, which consisted of the Fortieth and Forty-second Ohio, the Fourteenth and Twenty-second Kentucky Infantry, six companies of the First Kentucky Cavalry, and two companies of McLaughlin's Ohio Cavalry.

The first duty to which Colonel Garfield was ordered, was the task of driving Humphrey Marshall's confederate forces out of the Sandy Valley in Eastern Kentucky. Up to this time the interest of the war had been confined mainly to the country east of the Alleghanies, and but little had been attempted in the Ohio Valley. The principal engagement, that of Belmont, had been unsuccessful, and even in the east the disasters at Bull Run and Ball's Bluff had spread a gloom over the loyal States. General Buell was collecting a strong force in Kentucky, for the purpose of advancing upon the Confederate position at Bowling Green, but his movements were hampered by the presence of two co-operating forces skilfully planted on their striking distance of his flank. These were the command of General Zollicoffer, who was moving from Cumberland Gap toward Mill Spring, and the forces of General Humphrey Marshall, who was leisurely moving down the Sandy Valley and threatening to overrun Eastern Kentucky. These forces were a serious menace to General Buell, and until they could be driven back an advance upon Bowling Green would be hazardous in the extreme, if not impossible. Brigadier-General George H. Thomas was ordered to drive Zollicoffer back, and Colonel Garfield was directed to force Marshall out of Kentucky. The fate of the whole campaign depended upon the success of these movements.

Some persons were inclined to think that the choice of Garfield for this delicate and important service was rash. He had never seen a gun fired in battle, or exercised the command of troops save on parade, or in camp, or on the march. But he now found himself at the head

of four regiments of infantry and eight companies of cavalry, and was sent upon a service the success or failure of which would aid or defeat the entire plan of campaign on the part of General Buell. Opposed to him was one of the most trusted and accomplished of the Southern commanders, and a veteran who had won high distinction as the colonel of the heroic Kentucky regiment at Buena Vista, in the war with Mexico. He had under him nearly five thousand men, with artillery and cavalry, and was strongly posted at the village of Paintsville, sixty miles up the Sandy Valley. Marshall was ordered by the Confederate Government to advance to Lexington, unite there with Zollicoffer, and establish the authority of the Confederacy over Kentucky. It did indeed seem that Garfield was overmatched; but Buell had measured his man, and was satisfied that if success could be won, the young Ohio colonel would win it; and he was content to await the issue.

Upon receipt of his orders, Colonel Garfield at once joined the bulk of his brigade which was stationed at the mouth of the Big Sandy River. He at once broke up camp, and advanced up the valley, sending orders to the rest of his forces at Paris, to move across the country and join him a short distance below Paintsville. The force with which he began the movement up the valley was about twenty-two hundred strong.

Marshall was promptly informed of Garfield's movements by the Southern sympathizers of the valley. He left a small force of cavalry to hold his old position, to act as an escort and protect his trains, and with the rest of his forces fell back to a stronger position near Preston-

burgh, where he awaited attack. On the 7th of January, 1862, while pressing his advance up the valley, Colonel Garfield was informed of the position of Marshall's cavalry, and at once sent a detachment of his own mounted men to attack it, while with the rest of his command he pushed on to make a reconnoissance in force of the position he still supposed Marshall's main body to occupy. To his surprise he found the Confederate forces had retreated. Being anxious to capture the cavalry left behind by Marshall, he sent orders to the officer commanding the troops he had dispatched to attack it, directing him not to bring on the action until the main body had seized the Confederate line of retreat. The courier who bore this order was detained, and the Union cavalry in the meantime attacked the Confederate cavalry and drove it back in confusion after a short but sharp encounter. In the meantime Garfield pushed on with speed towards the road by which the Confederates must retreat. Upon reaching it, he found it strewn with overcoats, blankets, arms, and cavalry equipments, which showed that the Union attack had been successfully made, and that the Confederates had already retreated over the road, and in great confusion. He at once threw forward the cavalry with him in hot pursuit, and continued the chase until the outposts of Marshall's new position were reached. A brief reconnoissance was made, and then Colonel Garfield drew back his whole force, and encamped at Paintsville. The next morning he was joined by the detachment that had marched overland from Paris. This brought his whole force to about three thousand four hundred men, but he was without

artillery. The troops remained in camp throughout the 8th, waiting for rations, which were obtained with the greatest difficulty.

On the 9th of January, Colonel Garfield advanced upon Marshall's new position near Prestonburgh. He was obliged to leave about one thousand of his men at Paintsville to secure rations for them, but with the rest of his force he made a vigorous attempt to develop the enemy's position, and by nightfall had driven in the Southern pickets and completed his dispositions for an attack. He now ordered up the rest of his command from Paintsville, and prepared to open the attack the next morning. That night the troops bivouacked on their arms, and in the midst of a heavy rain.

By four o'clock on the morning of January 10, 1862, the Union forces were in motion. Marshall was believed to be stationed on Abbott's Creek. Garfield's plan, therefore, was to get over upon Middle Creek, and so plant himself in the enemy's rear. But in fact, Marshall's force was upon the heights of Middle Creek itself, only two miles west of Prestonburgh. So, when Garfield, advancing cautiously westward up the Creek, had consumed some hours in these movements, he came upon a semicircular hill, scarcely one thousand yards in front of which was Marshall's position, between the forks of the Creek. The expected re-enforcements from Paintsville had not arrived; and conscious of his comparative weakness, Colonel Garfield determined first to develop the enemy's position more carefully. A small body of picked men sent dashing up the road, drew a fire from both the head of the gorge through which the road led,

and from the heights on its left. Two columns were then moved forward, one on either side of the creek, and the rebels speedily opened upon them with musketry and artillery. The fight became somewhat severe at times, but was, on the whole, desultory. Garfield re-enforced both his columns, but the action soon developed itself mainly on the left, where Marshall speedily concentrated his whole force. Meantime Garfield's reserve was now also under fire from the commanding position held by the enemy's artillery. He was entirely without artillery to reply; but the men stationed themselves behind trees and rocks, and kept up a brisk though irregular fusillade.

“At last, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the reinforcements from Paintsville arrived. As we now know, these still left Marshall's strength superior to his young assailant, but the troops looked upon their opportune arrival as settling the contest. Unbounded enthusiasm was aroused, and the approaching column was received with prolonged cheering. Garfield now promptly formed his whole reserve for attacking the enemy's right, and carrying his guns. The troops were moving rapidly up in the fast gathering darkness, when Marshall hastily abandoned his position, fired his camp equipages and stores, and began a retreat that was not ended until he had reached Abingdon, Virginia. Night checked the pursuit. Next day it was continued for some distance, and some prisoners were taken, but a farther advance in that direction was quite impossible without more transportation, and indeed would have been foreign to the purpose for which General Buell had ordered the expedition.”

This brilliant success was won by the Union forces with the loss of but one man killed and seven wounded. Two of these were members of Colonel Garfield's own regiment, and died of their wounds shortly after the action. Thus was the first campaign of the young Ohio colonel a handsome success. Speaking of the battle of Middle Creek, sometime afterwards when he had learned more of war, Garfield modestly said, "It was a very rash and imprudent affair on my part. If I had been an officer of more experience, I probably should not have made the attack. As it was, having gone into the army with the notion that fighting was our business, I did not know any better." Captain F. H. Manton, in his history of the Forty-second Ohio Regiment, furnishes us with a juster view of this battle than the modesty of the Union commander allowed him to indulge in. He says :

"The battle of Middle Creek, skirmish though it may be considered in comparison with later contests, was the first substantial victory won for the Union cause. At Big Bethel, Bull Run, in Missouri, and at various points at which the Union and Confederate forces had come in contact, the latter had been uniformly victorious. The people of the North, giving freely of their men and their substance in response to each successive call of the Government had long and anxiously watched and waited for a little gleam of victory to show that Northern valor was a match for Southern impetuosity in the field. They had waited in vain since the disaster at Bull Run during the previous summer, and hope had almost yielded to despair. The story of Garfield's success at Middle Creek came, therefore, like a benediction to the Union cause.

Though won at trifling cost it was decisive so far as concerned the purposes of that immediate campaign. Marshall's force was driven from Kentucky and made no further attempt to occupy the Sandy Valley. The important victories at Mill Spring, Forts Donelson and Henry, and the repulse at Shiloh followed. The victory at Middle Creek proved the first wave of a returning tide."

"But though they had defeated the enemy, a very serious peril threatened the Union forces. An unusually violent storm broke out. The mountain gorges were all flooded, and the Sandy rose to such a height that steamboatmen pronounced it impossible to ascend the stream with supplies. The troops were almost out of rations and the rough mountainous country was incapable of supporting them. Colonel Garfield had gone down the river to its mouth. He ordered the "Sandy Valley," a small steamer, which had been in the quartermaster's service, to take on a load of supplies and start up. The captain declared it was impossible, Efforts were made to get other vessels, but without success.

"Finally, Colonel Garfield ordered the captain and crew on board, stationed a competent army officer on deck to see that the captain did his duty, and himself took the wheel. The captain protested that no boat could possibly stem the raging current, but Garfield turned her head up the stream and began the perilous trip. The water in the usually shallow river was sixty feet deep, and the tree-tops along the banks were almost submerged. The little vessel trembled from stem to stern at every motion of the engines; the waters whirled her about as if she were a skiff; and the utmost speed that

steam could give her was three miles an hour. When night fell the captain of the boat begged permission to tie up. To attempt ascending that flood in the dark he declared was madness. But Colonel Garfield kept his place at the wheel. Finally, in one of the sudden bends of the river, they drove, with a full head of steam, into the quicksand of the bank. Every effort to back off was in vain. Mattocks were procured and excavations were made around the imbedded bow. Still she stuck. Garfield at last ordered a boat to be lowered to take a line across to the opposite bank. The crew protested against venturing out in the flood. The colonel leaped into the boat himself and steered it over. The force of the current carried them far below the point they sought to reach; but they finally succeeded in making fast to a tree and rigging a windlass with rails sufficiently powerful to draw the vessel off and get her once more afloat.

“It was on Saturday that the boat left the mouth of the Sandy. All night, all day Sunday, and all through Sunday night they kept up their struggle with the current, Garfield leaving the wheel only eight hours out of the whole time, and that during the day. By nine o'clock Monday morning they reached the camp, and were received with tumultuous cheering. Garfield himself could scarcely escape being borne to headquarters on the shoulders of the delighted men.”

The months of January, February, and March, 1862, were comparatively uneventful. Colonel Garfield continued to hold the Sandy Valley with his forces. A number of encounters took place between his troops and the Confederate guerilla bands. The Union forces were

generally successful, and the Confederates were gradually driven from the State.

In spite of these successes, however, Humphrey Marshall managed to maintain a post of observation in the rugged pass through the mountains known as Pound Gap, situated just on the border between Virginia and Kentucky. This post was held by a force of about five hundred men. Garfield determined to break it up, and accordingly set out on the 14th of March with about five hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry, to carry this purpose into effect. He had to march forty miles over a road that was scarcely passable for a single horseman, but he pushed on with energy, and by the evening of the 15th he reached the foot of the mountain two miles north of the Gap. On the morning of the 16th he moved forward to attack the post, sending his cavalry directly up the road through the Gap, to divert the enemy's attention from his real attack, while with the infantry he moved by an unfrequented footpath up the side of the mountain, his march being concealed by a heavy snow-storm. The movements of the cavalry so completely absorbed the enemy's attention that Garfield was enabled to advance his infantry to a point within a quarter of a mile of the Southern position without being perceived. Having gained this point in safety he hurled his men like a thunderbolt upon the enemy, who, unsuspecting of an attack from that quarter were taken by surprise and were soon thrown into confusion by it. A few volleys were exchanged, and then the Confederates retreated in disorder down the mountain side, followed by the cavalry, who pursued them for several miles into Virginia. The

infantry at once occupied the captured position and secured a considerable quantity of stores. The entire Union force passed the night in the comfortable log huts of the enemy. The next morning all the structures connected with the post were set on fire, together with the stores that Colonel Garfield was unable to carry away, and the Union forces returned to their camp in the Sandy Valley, well satisfied with the success they had won.

On the 23d of March, Garfield received orders from Buell to leave a small force at Piketon and hasten with the rest of his command to Louisville. He was now to take part in the more important operations of the war.

The Kentucky campaign of Colonel Garfield was entirely satisfactory to his official superiors and to the country at large. General Buell was so well pleased with the victory of Middle Creek, that he issued a thrilling congratulatory order, in which he expressed his appreciation of the skill and good generalship displayed by Garfield, in terms of unusual warmth. The full text of the order was as follows :

“HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO,
Louisville, Kentucky, Jan., 20, 1862.

“GENERAL ORDERS, No. 40.

“The general commanding takes occasion to thank General Garfield and his troops for their successful campaign against the rebel force under General Marshall on the Big Sandy, and their gallant conduct in battle. They have overcome formidable difficulties in the character of the country, the condition of the roads, and the inclemency of the season; and, without artillery, have

in several engagements, terminating in the battle on Middle Creek, on the 10th instant, driven the enemy from his intrenched positions and forced him back into the mountains with the loss of a large amount of baggage and stores, and many of his men killed or captured.

“These services have called into action the highest qualities of a soldier—fortitude, perseverance, courage.”

“For his services in this campaign Colonel Garfield was promoted by the President to the grade of brigadier-general of volunteers, his commission dating from the 10th of January, 1862, the day of the battle of Middle Creek. The promotion gave great satisfaction to both the people of Ohio and the troops in the field, and all felt that a brilliant future was open to the young general.

“Later criticism,” says Mr. Reid, “will confirm the general verdict then passed on the Sandy Valley campaign. It was the first of the series of brilliant successes that made the spring of 1862 so memorable. Mill Springs, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Nashville, Island No. 10, Memphis, followed in quick succession; but it was Garfield’s honor that he opened this season of victories. His plans, as we have seen, were based on sound military principles; the energy which he threw into their execution was thoroughly admirable, and his management of the raw volunteers was such that they acquired the fullest confidence in their commander, and endured the hardships of the campaign with a fortitude not often shown in the first field service of new troops. But the operations were on a small scale, and their chief significance lay in the capacity they developed rather than in their intrinsic importance.”

CHAPTER IV.

FROM SHILOH TO CHICKAMAUGA.

General Garfield given a Brigade in the Army of the Cumberland—Joins Buell on the march—Battle of Pittsburgh Landing—General Garfield's share in this fight—Takes part in the Pursuit—The Siege of Corinth—Garfield's Brigade one of the first to enter the town—Is ordered to repair the Memphis and Charleston Railroad—Successful performance of this duty—Garfield at Huntsville—Detailed for Court-martial duty—A severe illness—Ordered to Cumberland Gap—Placed on the Fitz-John Porter Court-martial—Ordered to South Carolina—Battle of Stone River—Garfield is appointed Chief of Staff to General Rosecrans—His duties and services in this position—General Rosecrans' quarrels with the War Department—Garfield endeavors to harmonize these difficulties—Rosecrans' delay at Murfreesboro—Reasons for it—Garfield's views respecting it—A stinging letter from Rosecrans to Halleck—Garfield's advice respecting the Reorganization of the Army—It is disregarded—He urges Rosecrans to advance—A Model Military Report—The Army moves off—The Tullahoma Campaign—A brilliant success—It was really due to Garfield—Advance upon Chattanooga—Retreat of Bragg—Battle of Chickamauga—Garfield's share in it—He is promoted to be Major-General of Volunteers for his conduct at Chickamauga.

UPON reaching Louisville, General Garfield found that the Army of the Ohio was on its way to join General Grant at Pittsburgh Landing, on the Tennessee River, and had already moved beyond Nashville. He set out quickly after it, and joined it about thirty miles south of Columbia. Upon reporting to General Buell he was ordered to take command of the Twentieth brigade, which at that time formed a part of General Thomas J. Wood's division.

The latter part of the march was made with all speed, for news had come that the Confederates had attacked General Grant's army at Pittsburgh Landing, and were pressing it very hard. Late in the afternoon of the first day of the battle, the advanced forces of General Buell reached the battle-field. The division to which Garfield was attached arrived about noon on the second day, April 7th, and was at once thrown forward into the action. Garfield's brigade took part in the closing scenes of the battle, and acquitted itself with distinction, though the Union victory was already decided when it arrived upon the scene. Concerning the part played by Buell's troops in this great battle the brilliant author of "Ohio in the War" says:

"We need not repeat the sad story of the first day's disaster, which, in other pages, has been fully traced. Before Nelson could get up with his advance division, Grant was sending back earnestly for assistance, and representing the force with which he was engaged at a hundred thousand.

"The advance of Nelson's division, after waiting for some time opposite the landing for means of crossing, reached the field just as the rebels were making their last advance. It rapidly took post under General Buell's direction, and opened with musketry and artillery. No more ground was yielded, and the troops encamped in line of battle.

"There was no conference between the commanders. One of Grant's subordinates furnished Buell with a rough map of the ground, and there was a common understanding that operations must be renewed at day-

light. Through the night Crittenden's division of Buell's army arrived, and was moved out upon Nelson's right. McCook's, which arrived in time to get into action only a little later than the others, was used for further prolongation to the right.

“And now was seen, even more conspicuously than in the steady marching, the results of the fine discipline which Buell had been enforcing. At daybreak Nelson, moving in line of battle, drove in the enemy's pickets and engaged his artillery. The other divisions were then brought up, and with varying fortune the whole line advanced. It stretched over three-fourths of the battlefield. The remainder was left to the arriving fragments of Grant's army. There was no straggling from that line; no confused breaking and fleeing to the rear on the first onset of the enemy. Many of the troops had never before been under fire; and they were commanded by a man who, before that eventful day, had never handled so large a force as a single regiment in action. But he was a soldier, and he was manoeuvring men of whom he had made soldiers. An effort was made to turn his right flank—he promptly threw in McCook's division to check it. An effort was made to turn his left flank—he parried it, then brought up the reserves at that point, hurled the whole force against Beauregard's right, drove it, and so flanked the rest of the rebel line, which speedily fell back. Then again the whole line advanced.

“At no time did the force thus wielded lose its cohesion, but there were moments when the prospect looked gloomy. A battery was driven, with its supports, and a caisson was lost. Another battery was driven, and sev-

eral guns were lost. But the line speedily rallied, and they were recaptured. Then again it pressed forward. For hours still the struggle continued through the alternate strips of woodland and little intervals of farm-land, on which, the day before, Grant's army had retreated. McCook's division had the honor of ending the struggle, and its last charge carried it into the camps from which Sherman had been driven. The disaster was retrieved—at a cost to Buell's army of two thousand one hundred and sixty-seven killed, wounded, and missing. An equal or greater loss had been inflicted, and twenty pieces of rebel artillery had been captured."

On the 8th of April, Garfield moved forward with Sherman's advance in the pursuit of the retreating enemy, and had a sharp encounter with the Confederate rear-guard a few miles beyond the battle-field.

The Confederates retreated to their strong position at Corinth. The Union army advanced to that point, and General Halleck assumed the command of all the forces. The Confederate position was formally invested, and a regular siege of the place was begun. General Garfield's brigade bore its full share in the tiresome and laborious operations of the siege. On the 30th of May the Confederates completed the evacuation of Corinth, which they had begun some weeks ago, and retired in safety to a position farther south, leaving to General Halleck, as the fruits of his siege operations, their deserted works and about four hundred prisoners. The Union forces occupied Corinth the next day, Garfield's brigade being among the first to enter the abandoned stronghold.

Corinth having fallen, General Buell was ordered by

General Halleck to advance through North Alabama to Chattanooga, Tennessee, for the purpose of liberating East Tennessee. General Buell urged a more northerly route, leading through Middle Tennessee and McMinnville, but having for its end the occupation of the same points, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Dalton. Halleck accepted this change, but on the 12th of June withdrew his consent to it, and ordered Buell to advance along the line of the Memphis and Charleston railway, with Corinth as a second base. He was directed to repair the railroad as he advanced. To General Garfield's brigade, General Buell assigned the task of repairing the railroad eastward from Corinth to Decatur, an arduous task, and one which subsequently proved of no practical benefit during the campaign which followed. Garfield executed his orders as promptly as was possible. Crossing the Tennessee River at Decatur, he advanced to Huntsville, Alabama, where he remained during the rest of the campaign.

While at Huntsville, General Garfield was made president of a court-martial appointed for the trial of Colonel Turchin, whose command had committed unpardonable excesses in its reoccupation of Athens, Alabama. The ability which he displayed in the trial of this case, which resulted in the dismissal of Colonel Turchin from the army, attracted the attention of his superiors, and caused him to be detailed on several other courts-martial.

The malarious character of the country in which he was serving revived the old tendency to fever and ague which General Garfield had contracted when a boy boatman on the Ohio canal, and he was now seized with an attack of chills and fever so violent that he was sent

home on sick leave about the first of August, 1862. About the same time orders were received from Washington, tendering him a new and more important command. The Secretary of War had formed a high estimate of General Garfield's military ability, an opinion which he continued to entertain throughout the war, and he now ordered General Garfield to repair at once to Cumberland Gap, and relieve General George W. Morgan of the command of the Union forces at that point. When these orders reached General Garfield he was confined to his bed, and was too ill to execute them. About a month later the Secretary of War ordered him to report to him in person, at Washington, as soon as the state of his health would permit him to return to duty.

Reaching Washington, he found that he had been appointed by the Secretary of War one of the first members of the court-martial summoned for the trial of General Fitz-John Porter on charges preferred against him by General Pope. This selection was caused by the confidence which the Government had come to repose in General Garfield's knowledge of the law, his excellent judgment and impartiality, as well as his sterling devotion to the Union. He attended the sessions of the court throughout the trial with most earnest attention, and gave his vote for the verdict by which General Porter was dismissed from the army and rendered incapable of holding any position of profit or trust under the Government of the United States. He has always maintained the justice of this sentence, and during his subsequent service in Congress has firmly opposed any and all attempts to reopen the matter or to set aside the sentence

of the court-martial. He declared that the evidence before the court showed beyond question that Porter had wilfully permitted the defeat of Pope's army at the second battle of Bull Run, and that no less punishment than absolute dismissal from the service would be at all adequate to his offense. The duties of the court-martial detained General Garfield in Washington during almost the whole of the autumn of 1862. The president of the court was Major-General David Hunter, who was to take command in South Carolina upon the adjournment of the court-martial. He conceived a warm friendship for Garfield, which was returned, and was drawn to him especially by the strong antislavery views of the latter, which had been greatly strengthened by his experience during the war. General Hunter applied for and obtained an order from the War Department detailing General Garfield for service with him in South Carolina. This appointment was very gratifying to General Garfield, and he was in the midst of his preparations to proceed to Port Royal, when the order was revoked, and he was directed to proceed to a new field of duty. In the last days of December, 1862, the western army, in which General Garfield had won his first distinction, fought the terrible battle of Stone River, or Murfreesboro, winning a memorable victory. Among the killed was the lamented General Garesché, chief of staff to General Rosecrans, the commander of the army. The post thus made vacant was one of the greatest importance, and as General Garesché had been regarded as one of the most brilliant officers in the service, it was felt that his successor must be a man who would not suffer upon comparison with

him. The Secretary of War determined to appoint General Garfield to the vacancy; and so, early in January, 1863, his South Carolina appointment was revoked, and he was ordered to proceed to Tennessee and join General Rosecrans.

“The chief of staff should bear the same relation to his general that a minister of state does to his sovereign. What this last relation is the most brilliant of recent historians shall tell us: ‘The difference between a servant and a minister of state lies in this, that the servant obeys the orders given him without troubling himself concerning the question, whether his master is right or wrong; while a minister of state declines to be the instrument for giving effect to measures which he deems to be hurtful to his country. The chancellor of the Russian Empire was sagacious and politic. . . That the Czar was wrong in these transactions against Turkey no man knew better. . . But unhappily for the Czar and for his empire, the minister of state did not enjoy so commanding a station as to be able to put restraint upon his sovereign, nor even perhaps to offer him counsel in his angry mood.’ We are now to see that in some respects our chief of staff came to a singular experience.

“From the day of his appointment General Garfield became the intimate associate and confidential adviser of his chief. But he did not occupy so commanding a station as to be able to put restraint upon him.

“The time of General Garfield’s arrival marks the beginning of that period of quarrels with the war department, in which General Rosecrans frittered away his influence and paved the road for his removal. We have

seen, in tracing the career of that great strategist and gallant soldier, how unwise he always was in caring for his own interests, and how imprudent was the most of his intercourse with his superiors. Yet he was nearly always right in his demands. General Garfield earnestly sympathized with his appeals for more cavalry and for revolving arms, a demand which General Buell had made quite as emphatically as his successor, and with an accurate prediction of the evils that would flow from its absence. But Garfield did all that lay in his power to soften the tone of asperity which his chief adopted in his despatches to Washington. Sometimes he took the responsibility of totally suppressing an angry message. Oftener he ventured to soften the phraseology. But in all this there was a limit beyond which he could not go; and when Rosecrans had pronounced certain statements of the department 'a profound, grievous, cruel, and ungenerous official and personal wrong,' the good offices of the chief of staff were no longer efficacious—the breach was irreparable. Thenceforward he could only strive to make victories in the field atone for errors in council."

The army of General Rosecrans remained at Murfreesboro from the 4th of January to the 23d of June, 1863. In his testimony before the committee on the conduct of the war, General Rosecrans explains this delay by the weakness of his cavalry force, the scarcity of forage, the nature of the roads, and the policy of holding Bragg on his front rather than driving him out of Tennessee, only that he might unite with Joseph E. Johnston and fall upon Grant who was still ineffectually struggling before Vicksburg. In his sketch of his mili-

tary career, officially furnished to the war department, he says : " The detachment of General Burnside's troops to Vicksburg, the uncertainty of the issue of our operations there, and the necessity of 'nursing,' so to speak, General Bragg on my front, to keep him from retiring behind the mountain and the Tennessee, whence he could and would have been obliged to send heavy re-enforcements to Johnston, delayed the advance of my army until the 23d of June, when, the circumstances at Vicksburgh and the arrival of all our cavalry horse warranting it, we began the campaign. And in his correspondence with the general-in-chief, he said that to fight in Tennessee while Grant was about fighting at Vicksburg, would violate one of the fundamental maxims of war, the proper application of which would forbid this nation from engaging all its forces in the great West at the same time, so as to leave it without a single reserve to stem the current of possible disaster."

" Some of these considerations are of undoubted weight ; but on the whole they will hardly seem now to have afforded sufficient cause for the delay. In point of fact, Bragg profited by it to detach a considerable portion of his troops to the rebel lines of the south-west, the very result which Rosecrans imagined himself to be hindering. There are no traces of complaint from Grant himself on the subject, but his friends were not silent ; and there is some reason to think that their importunity served still farther to exasperate the already dissatisfied feelings of the general-in-chief.

" Presently there sprang up an extraordinary state of affairs between that officer and General Rosecrans.

The latter asked for cavalry. General Halleck replied as if he thought it a complaint. Rosecrans telegraphed the Secretary of War. In reply came fresh hints from Halleck about the tendency of his subordinate to complain of his means instead of using them. Rosecrans begged for revolving rifles, adding almost piteously: 'Don't be weary at my importunity. No economy can compare with that of furnishing revolving arms; no mode of recruiting will so promptly and efficaciously strengthen us.' But the Prussian war not yet having been fought the practical general-in-chief considered such applications the extravagant whims of a dreaming theorist.

"The despatches for 'cavalry,' 'cavalry,' 'cavalry,' continued. On 20th March, General Rosecrans said: 'Duty compels me to recall the attention of the War Department to the necessity of more cavalry here. Let it be clearly understood that the enemy have five to our one, and can, therefore, command the resources of the country and the services of the inhabitants.' On 29th March again: 'General Rousseau would undertake to raise eight or ten thousand mounted infantry. I think the time very propitious.' On 24th April, still the same: 'Cavalry horses are indispensable to our success here. This has been stated and reiterated to the department; but horses have not been obtained.' Again, on 10th May, in reply to a letter of General Halleck, proving to him that he had cavalry enough: 'We have at no time been able to turn out more than five thousand for actual duty. I am not mistaken in saying that this great army would gain more from ten thousand effective cavalry than from twenty thousand infantry.' On 26th July: 'I have

sent General Rousseau to Washington, directed to lay before you his plan for obtaining from the disciplined troops recently mustered out in the East, such a mounted force as would enable us to command the country south of us.' This last application ended the list. General Rousseau returned, telling Rosecrans that he 'was satisfied his official destruction was but a question of time and opportunity; the will to accomplish existed, and there was no use to hope for any assistance from the War Department. The Secretary of War had 'even gone so far as to say that he would be damned if he would give Rosecrans another man.'

"For meantime, the high spirit and utter lack of caution in personal matters which so distinguished General Rosecrans, had led to two other breaches with the department. Either of them would have served to make his position as a successful general, vigorously prosecuting a triumphant campaign, sufficiently unpleasant. As a delaying general, furnishing excuses for not undertaking the campaign on which the Government, with all its power, was urging him, they were enough to work his ruin. Yet who can check a thrill of honest pride as he reads that an Ohio general, in such a plight, had sturdy manhood enough left to send a despatch like this to the all powerful general-in-chief.

"MURFREESBORO, 6th March, 1863.

"General:—Yours of the 1st instant, announcing the offer of a vacant major-generalship in the regular army to the general in the field who first wins an important and decisive victory, is at hand. As an officer and a

citizen I feel degraded at such an auctioneering of honors. Have we a general who would fight for his own personal benefit when he would not for honor and his country? He would come by his commission basely in that case, and deserve to be despised by men of honor. But are all the brave and honorable generals on an equality as to chances? If not, it is unjust to those who probably deserve most.

“W. S. ROSECRANS, Major-General.

“To Major-General H. W. HALLECK,
General-in-Chief.”

“Under the merited sting of this incautious but unanswerable rebuke, General Halleck renewed his complaints, found fault with Rosecrans’ reports, and his failures to report, and even criticised the expenses of his telegraphing. At last, Rosecrans, chafing under one of these despatches, with absolutely characteristic lack of prudence, was stung into saying: ‘That I am very careful to inform the department of my successes, and of all captures from the enemy, is not true, as the records of our office will show; that I have failed to inform the Government of my defeats and losses is equally untrue, both in letter and in spirit. I regard the statement of these two propositions of the War Department as a profound, grievous, cruel, and ungenerous official and personal wrong.’ Was it wonderful now—human nature being, after all, only human nature—that Rosecrans’ official destruction was but a question of time and opportunity?”*

* This summary of General Rosecrans’ relations with the War Department is introduced here that the reader may have a clearer understanding of the delicate and often difficult duties of General Garfield’s position.

General Garfield regarded the organization of the army of General Rosecrans as radically defective, and so expressed himself to his chief. He was satisfied that it was a vital error to retain in command of the wings two generals who had shown themselves incapable, and one of his first official acts was to recommend the immediate displacement of Generals T. L. Crittenden and A. M. McCook. He urged General Rosecrans to appoint in their places Generals John McDowell and Don Carlos Buell. He had the good sense to feel confidence in the genuine ability of those officers in spite of their misfortunes, and was influenced by the popular prejudice against those officers. He argued that McDowell and Buell were not only officers admirably suited to the commands he proposed for them, but that their gratitude to General Rosecrans, in case of their appointment, for the opportunity to emerge from the cloud which obscured them, would stimulate them to a zealous and able execution of his plans. By making these appointments and retaining General George H. Thomas in his present command, the Army of the Cumberland would be the best officered force in the service of the Republic. Rosecrans admitted all this, and said he was convinced that Crittenden and McCook ought to be replaced by better men, but with characteristic kindness of heart said, "he hated to injure two such good fellows," and declined to remove them.

The delay at Murfreesboro irritated the War Department, as has been said, and as the spring wore on, the Government demanded an advance with extraordinary vehemence. "General Rosecrans delayed, waiting for

cavalry, for re-enforcements, for Grant's movements before Vicksburg, for the movements of the enemy, for the opinions of his generals." General Garfield was at first in sympathy with his chief in these delays. He fully realized the importance of delaying a movement until the army should be massed and strengthened; but as time passed on, he too began to be impatient, and urged the commanding general to an immediate movement. "He had established a secret service system, then, perhaps, the most perfect in any of the Union armies. From the intelligence it furnished, he felt sure that Bragg's force had been considerably reduced, and was now greatly inferior to that of Rosecrans. As he subsequently said, he refused to believe that this army which had defeated a superior force at Stone River, could not now move upon an inferior one with reasonable prospects of success. Garfield continued to urge his views upon his commander, and, finally, General Rosecrans made a formal request to his corps, division, and cavalry commanders to submit in writing their views as to the propriety of an early advance. This request was addressed to seventeen generals, and with singular unanimity each and all advised against a forward movement. They gave diverse reasons, but reached the same conclusion. Not one favored an immediate advance, and none were willing to advise even an early advance.

"General Garfield collected the seventeen letters sent in from the generals in reply to the questions of their commander, and fairly reported their substance, coupled with a cogent argument against them, and in favor of an immediate movement. This report we

venture to pronounce the ablest military document known to have been submitted by a chief of staff to his superior during the war. General Garfield stood absolutely alone, every general commanding troops having, as we have seen, either openly opposed or failed to approve an advance. But his statements were so clear and his arguments so forcible that he carried conviction.

We give the full text of this report, which will be found of great interest to the reader. It is as follows :—

“HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND,
Murfreesboro, June 12, 1863.

“General:—In your confidential letter of the 8th instant to the corps and division commanders and generals of cavalry of this army, there were substantially five questions propounded for their consideration and answer, viz. :—

“1. Has the enemy in our front been materially weakened by detachments to Johnston, or elsewhere?

“2. Can this army advance on him at this time with strong reasonable chances of fighting a great and successful battle?

“3. Do you think an advance of our army at present likely to prevent additional re-enforcements being sent against General Grant by the enemy in our front?

“4. Do you think an *immediate* advance of this army advisable?

“5. Do you think an *early* advance advisable?

“Many of the answers to these questions are not categorical, and cannot be clearly set down either as affirmative or negative. Especially in answer to the first

question there is much indefiniteness, resulting from the difference of judgment as to how great a detachment could be considered a 'material reduction' of Bragg's strength. For example: one officer thinks it has been reduced ten thousand, but not 'materially weakened.'

"The answers to the second question are modified in some instances by the opinion that the rebels will fall back behind the Tennessee River, and thus no battle can be fought either successful or unsuccessful.

"So far as these opinions can be stated in tabular form, they will stand thus:

	<i>Yes.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Answer to first question.....	6	11
Answer to second question.....	2	11
Answer to third question.....	4	10
Answer to fourth question.....	.....	15
Answer to fifth question.....	.....	2

"On the fifth question three gave it as their opinion that this army ought to advance as soon as Vicksburg falls, should that event happen.

"The following is a summary of the reasons assigned why we should not, at this time, advance upon the enemy:

"1. With Hooker's army defeated, and Grant's bending all its energies in a yet undecided struggle, it is bad policy to risk our only reserve army to the chances of a general engagement. A failure here would have most disastrous effects on our lines of communication, and on politics in the loyal States.

"2. We should be compelled to fight the enemy on his own ground, or follow him in a fruitless stern chase; or if we attempted to outflank him and turn his position,

we should expose our line of communication and run the risk of being pushed back into a rough country well-known to the enemy and little to ourselves.

“3. In case the enemy should fall back without accepting battle he could make our advance very slow, and with a comparatively small force posted in the gaps of the mountains could hold us back while he crossed the Tennessee River, where he would be measurely secure and free to send re-enforcements to Johnston. His forces in East Tennessee could seriously harass our left flank, and constantly disturb our communications.

“4. The withdrawal of Burnside’s Ninth Army Corps deprive us of an important reserve and flank protection, thus increasing the difficulty of an advance.

“5. General Hurlbut has sent the most of his forces away to General Grant, thus leaving West Tennessee uncovered, and laying our right flank and rear open to raids of the enemy.

“The following incidental opinions are expressed :

“1. One officer thinks it probable that the enemy has been strengthened rather than weakened, and that *he* (the enemy) would have a reasonable prospect of victory in a general battle.

“2. One officer believes the result of a general battle would be doubtful, a victory barren, and a defeat most disastrous.

“3. Three officers believe that an advance would bring on a general engagement. Three others believe it would not.

“4. Two officers express the opinion that the chances of success in a general battle are nearly equal.

“5. One officer expresses the belief that our army has reached its maximum strength and efficiency, and that inactivity will seriously impair its effectiveness.

“6. Two officers say that an increase of our cavalry by about six thousand men would materially change the aspect of our affairs and give us a decided advantage.

“In addition to the above summary, I have the honor to submit an estimate of the strength of Bragg’s army, gathered from all the data I have been able to obtain, including the estimate of the general commanding in his official report of the battle of Stone River, and facts gathered from prisoners, deserters, and refugees, and from rebel newspapers. After the battle Bragg consolidated many of his decimated regiments and irregular organizations, and at the time of his sending re-enforcements to Johnston his army had reached its greatest effective strength. It consisted of five divisions of infantry, composed of ninety-four regiments and two independent battalions of sharpshooters; say ninety-five regiments. By a law of the Confederate Congress, regiments are consolidated when their effective strength falls below two hundred and fifty men. Even the regiments formed by such consolidation (which may reasonably be regarded as the fullest) must fall below five hundred. I am satisfied that four hundred is a large estimate of the average strength.

“The force then would be—

Infantry,	95 Regiments,	400 each	.....	38,000
Cavalry,	35 “	say 500 “	.....	17,500
Artillery,	26 Batteries,	say 100 “	.....	2,600
				58,100
Total.....				58,100

“This force has been reduced by detachments to Johnston. It is as well known as we can ever expect to ascertain such facts, that three brigades have gone from McCown’s division, and two or three from Breckinridge’s; say two. It is clear that there are now but four infantry divisions in Bragg’s army, the fourth being composed of fragments of McCown’s and Breckinridge’s divisions, and must be much smaller than the average. Deducting the five brigades, and supposing them composed of only four regiments each, which is below the general average, it gives an infantry reduction of twenty regiments, four hundred each: eight thousand, leaving a remainder of thirty thousand.

“It is clearly ascertained that at least two brigades of cavalry have been sent from Van Dorn’s command to Mississippi, and it is asserted in the *Chattanooga Rebel* of June 11th, that General Morgan’s command has been permanently detached and sent to Eastern Kentucky. It is not certainly known how large his division is, but it is known to contain at least two brigades. Taking this minimum as the fact, we have a cavalry reduction of four brigades.

“Taking the lowest estimate, four regiments to the brigade, we have a reduction by detachment of sixteen regiments, five hundred each, leaving his present effective cavalry force nine thousand five hundred.

“With the nine brigades of the two arms thus detached it will be safe to say there have gone—

6 Batteries, 80 men each.	480
Leaving him 20 Batteries.. ..	2,120
Making a total reduction of.....	16,480
Leaving of the three arms.....	41,680

“In this estimate of Bragg’s present strength I have placed all doubts in his favor, and I have no question that my estimate is considerably beyond the truth. General Sheridan, who has taken great pains to collect evidence on this point, places it considerably below these figures. But assuming these to be correct, and granting what is still more improbable, that Bragg would abandon all his rear posts, and entirely neglect his communications and could bring his last man into battle, I next ask, What have we with which to oppose him ?

“The last official report of effective strength, now on file in the office of the assistant adjutant-general, is dated June 11, and shows that we have in this department, omitting all officers and enlisted men attached to department, corps, division, and brigade headquarters :—

“1. Infantry—One hundred and seventy-three regiments; ten battalions sharpshooters; four battalions pioneers, and one regiment engineers and mechanics, with a total effective strength of seventy thousand nine hundred and eighteen.

“2. Cavalry—Twenty-seven regiments and one unattached company, eleven thousand eight hundred and thirteen.

“3. Artillery—Forty-seven and a half batteries field artillery, consisting of two hundred and ninety-two guns and five hundred and sixty-nine men, making a general total of eighty-seven thousand eight hundred.

“Leaving out all commissioned officers, this army represents eighty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven bayonets and sabres.

“This report does not include the Fifth Iowa Cav-

alry, six hundred strong, lately armed; nor the First Wisconsin Cavalry; nor Coburn's brigade of infantry, now arriving; nor the two thousand three hundred and ninety-four convalescents now on light duty in 'Fortress Rosecrans.'

"There are detached from this force as follows:

At Gallatin.....	969
At Carthage	1,149
At Fort Donelson.....	1,485
At Clarksville.....	1,138
At Nashville.	7,292
At Franklin.....	900
At Lavergne.....	2,117
Total	15,050

"With these posts as they are, and leaving two thousand five hundred efficient men in addition to the two thousand three hundred and ninety-four convalescents to hold the works at this place, there will be left sixty-five thousand one hundred and thirty-seven bayonets and sabres to throw against Bragg's forty-one thousand six hundred and eighty.

"I beg leave, also, to submit the following considerations:—

"1. Bragg's army is now weaker than it has been since the battle of Stone River, or is likely to be again for the present, while our army has reached its maximum strength, and we have no right to expect re-enforcements for several months, if at all.

"2. Whatever be the result at Vicksburg, the determination of its fate will give large re-enforcements to Bragg. If Grant is successful, his army will require many weeks to recover from the shock and strain of his

late campaign, while Johnston will send back to Bragg a force sufficient to insure the safety of Tennessee. If Grant fails, the same result will inevitably follow, so far as Bragg's army is concerned.

"3. No man can predict with certainty the result of any battle, however great the disparity in numbers. Such results are in the hand of God. But, viewing the question in the light of human calculation, I refuse to entertain a doubt that this army, which in January last defeated Bragg's superior numbers, can not overwhelm his present greatly inferior forces.

"4. The most unfavorable course for us that Bragg could take would be to fall back without giving us battle, but this would be very disastrous to him. Besides the loss of *materiel* of war, and the abandonment of the rich and abundant harvest now nearly ripe in Central Tennessee, he would lose heavily by desertion. It is well known that a widespread dissatisfaction exists among his Kentucky and Tennessee troops. They are already deserting in large numbers. A retreat would greatly increase both the desire and the opportunity for desertion, and would very materially reduce his physical and moral strength. While it would lengthen our communications, it would give us possession of McMinnville, and enable us to threaten Chattanooga and East Tennessee; and it would not be unreasonable to expect an early occupation of the former place.

"5. But the chances are more than ever that a sudden and rapid movement would compel a general engagement, and the defeat of Bragg would be in the highest degree disastrous to the rebellion.

“6. The turbulent aspect of politics in the loyal States renders a decisive blow against the enemy at this time of the highest importance to the success of the Government at the polls, and in the enforcement of the Conscription Act.

“7. The Government and the War Department believe that this army ought to move upon the enemy. The army desires it, and the country is anxiously hoping for it.

“8. Our true objective point is the rebel army, whose last reserves are substantially in the field, and an effective blow will crush the shell and soon be followed by the collapse of the rebel government.

“9. We have, in my judgment, wisely delayed a general movement hitherto, till your army could be massed, and your cavalry could be mounted. Your mobile force can now be concentrated in twenty-four hours, and your cavalry, if not equal in numerical strength to that of the enemy, is greatly superior in efficiency and morals.

“For these reasons I believe an immediate advance of all our forces is advisable, and under the providence of God, will be successful.

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

[Signed.]

J. A. GARFIELD,

Brigadier-General, Chief of Staff.

“Major-General ROSECRANS,

Commanding Department, Cumberland.”

General Rosecrans acknowledged the force of the arguments of his chief of staff, and the 24th of June, 1863, twelve days after the above report was written, the army

moved forward from Murfreesboro toward the Confederate position at Tullahoma. The advance was severely condemned by the leading generals of the Union army. On the morning it was begun, General Thomas L. Crittenden, one of the corps commanders, went to headquarters and said to General Garfield: "It is understood, sir, by the general officers of the army, that this movement is your work. I wish you to understand that it is a rash and fatal move, for which you will be held responsible."

The Confederate army, under General Bragg, occupied a strongly intrenched position at Tullahoma, with advanced positions at Shelbyville and Wartrace. The line was a very strong one, and the task before General Rosecrans was not to attack it, but to manœuvre so as to compel the Confederates to relinquish it without a battle. The movements by which he accomplished this were so brilliant and successful that they drew praise from even General Halleck. Gordon Granger's division was thrown forward boldly towards Shelbyville, as if to attack that place; and while Bragg's attention was taken up with this movement, General Rosecrans with the rest of the army marched rapidly to the right and seized the mountain passes which commanded the Confederate line of retreat. Bragg now perceived the true nature of the Union movement, and hastily drew in his forces from Shelbyville. Rosecrans thereupon moved forward upon Tullahoma, and General Bragg, who was unwilling to fight for that position, abandoned it, and retreated across the Tennessee River to Chattanooga. "Thus closed," says General Rosecrans, "a nine days' campaign which drove the enemy from two fortified positions, and gave us pos-

session of Middle Tennessee, conducted in one of the most extraordinary rains ever known in Tennessee at that period of the year, over a soil that became almost a quicksand. These results were far more successful than was anticipated, and could only have been obtained by a surprise as to the direction and force of our movements." Sixteen hundred and thirty-four prisoners, six pieces of artillery, and large quantities of stores were taken from the Confederates. Rosecrans' loss was only five hundred and sixty.

"There now sprang up renewed differences between General Rosecrans and the War Department. In the general policy that controlled the movements of the army Garfield heartily sympathized; he had, in fact, aided to give shape to that policy. But he deplored his chief's testy manner of conducting his defence to the complaints of the War Department, and did his best to soften the asperities of the correspondence."

After Bragg retired to Chattanooga, Rosecrans moved to Stevenson, Alabama, halting there for over a month to repair the railroad and bring up his supplies. On the 16th of August his army moved against Chattanooga, and General Burnside, with a strong column, advanced from Kentucky into East Tennessee. Finding the enemy's position at Chattanooga too strong to be carried by a direct assault, Rosecrans endeavored to turn it and cut Bragg off from Northern Georgia, but on the 8th of September the Confederates evacuated Chattanooga and fell back towards Dalton.

Rosecrans, believing that Bragg was in full retreat for Georgia, started at once in pursuit, disposing his forces

in such a manner as to cut off his adversary. These movements he hoped would enable him to capture the whole rebel army, and it is likely they would have succeeded had the situation of that army been as desperate as he supposed it. But General Bragg, instead of flying southward, had merely evacuated Chattanooga, and fallen back a short distance to secure his junction with Longstreet's corps, which was on its way from Virginia to join him. As soon as Longstreet arrived within supporting distance, Bragg suddenly wheeled about and marched back to give Rosecrans battle.

This movement took the Union commander completely by surprise, and embarrassed him considerably. Having no idea that Bragg meant anything but absolute flight, he had divided his army with the hope of intercepting him, and now the various corps were situated in such a manner as to expose them to the danger of being beaten in detail by the enemy's whole force. "The corps of General McCook was separated from General Thomas by a march of nearly three days. General Crittenden could not re-enforce General Thomas without exposing Chattanooga, and General Thomas could not move to General Crittenden's position without exposing General McCook. It was a terrible situation for the army, and might have been fatal to it had General Bragg moved with more rapidity. McCook was at once ordered to join Thomas, which he did by a forced march, reaching him late on the 17th. Every moment of Bragg's delay was carefully economized, and when McCook came up, the army was moved to Gordon's Mills, on the west side of the Chickamauga.

“General Bragg now moved his army by divisions, and crossed the Chickamauga at several fords and bridges north of Gordon’s Mills, up to which he ordered the Virginian troops which had crossed many miles below, and near to which he attempted to concentrate. At this time the right of General Rosecrans really rested on Gordon’s Mills. General Thomas had moved on until his left division under General Brannan, covered the Rossville road. General Baird was on General Brannan’s right, then followed successively Generals Johnson’s, Reynolds’, Palmer’s and Van Cleve’s divisions. General Wood covered Gordon’s Mills ford. General Negley, four miles farther south, held Owen’s Gap. Generals Davis and Sheridan were on the march south of General Negley. General Wilder, with four regiments and a light battery, was posted at the right, near Gordon’s Mills. General Gordon Granger’s forces were held in reserve some distance back on the Rossville road. Such was the position on Saturday, the 19th. The battle which now ensued, opened about ten o’clock. The first attack of the enemy was upon the left wing of Gen. Rosecrans, which the enemy endeavored to turn, so as to occupy the road to Chattanooga. But all their efforts for this object failed. The centre was next assailed, and temporarily driven back, but being promptly re-enforced, maintained its ground. As night approached the battle ceased, and the combatants rested on their arms. Gen. Bragg now issued an order dividing the forces of his army into two corps or wings. The right was placed under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Polk, and the left under Lieut.-Gen. Longstreet.

“Toward morning of the next day, the army of General Rosecrans changed its position slightly to the rear, and contracted the extended lines of the previous day. Trains were moving northward on all the roads in the rear of Chattanooga, and the wounded were taken from the hospitals, which had become exposed by the concentration of the forces to the left. General Thomas still held the left with the divisions of Generals Palmer and Johnson attached to his corps and thrown in the centre. General Brannan was retired slightly, with his regiments arrayed in echelon. General Van Cleve was held in reserve on the west side of the first road in the rear of the line. Generals Wood, Davis, and Sheridan followed next, the last being on the extreme left. General Lytle occupied an isolated position at Gordon's Mills.

“Orders were given by General Bragg to Lieutenant-General Polk to commence the attack at daylight on the next morning. These orders were immediately opened by him; but prior to giving the order to move forward to the attack in the morning, General Polk discovered that, owing to a want of precaution, a portion of the left wing, amounting to a whole division, had been formed in front of his line, and that if the order to make the attack at daylight was obeyed, this division must inevitably be slaughtered. The battle was finally opened about half past nine A. M., by a forward movement of General Breckinridge, accompanied by General Cleburne, against the left and centre of General Rosecrans. Division after division was pushed forward to assist the attacking masses of the enemy, but with-

out success. The ground was held by General Thomas for more than two hours. Meantime, as General Reynolds was sorely pressed, General Wood was ordered, as he supposed, to march instantly by the left flank pass General Brannan, and go to the relief of General Reynolds, and that Generals Davis and Sheridan were to shift over to the left, and close up the line. General Rosecrans reports that the order was to close upon General Reynolds. General Wood says that General Brannan was in line between his and General Reynolds' division.

“A gap was thus formed in the line of battle, of which the enemy took advantage, and striking General Davis in his flank and rear, threw his whole division into confusion. Passing through this break in General Rosecran's line, the enemy cut off his right and centre, and attacked General Sheridan's division, which was advancing to the support of the left. After a brave but fruitless effort against this torrent of the enemy, he was compelled to give way, but afterward rallied a considerable portion of his force, and by a circuitous route joined General Thomas, who had now to breast the tide of battle against the whole army of the enemy. The right and part of the centre had been completely broken, and fled in confusion from the field, carrying with them to Chattanooga their commanders, Generals McCook and Crittenden, and also General Rosecrans, who was on that part of the line. General Garfield, his chief of staff, however, made his way to the left, and joined General Thomas, who still retained his position. His ranks had now assumed a crescent form, with his flanks supported

by the lower spurs of the mountain, and here, 'like a lion at bay, he repulsed the terrible assaults of the enemy.'

"About half-past three P. M. the enemy discovered a gap in the hills, in the rear of the right flank of General Thomas, and General Longstreet commenced pressing his columns through the passage. At this time, Major-General Granger, who had been posted with his reserves to cover the left and rear, arrived on the field. He immediately attacked the forces of General Longstreet with General Steedman's brigade of cavalry. The conflict at this point is thus described by General Halleck: 'In the words of General Rosecrans' report, "swift was the charge, and terrible the conflict; but the enemy was broken." A thousand of our brave men killed and wounded paid for its possession; but we held the gap. Two divisions of Longstreet's corps confronted the position. Determined to take it, they successively came to the assault. A battery of six guns placed in the gorge poured death and slaughter into them. They charged within a few yards of the pieces, but our grape and canister, and the leaden hail of musketry, delivered in sparing but terrible volleys, from cartridges taken in many instances from the boxes of their fallen companions, was too much even for Longstreet's men. About sunset they made their last charge, when our men, being out of ammunition, moved on them with the bayonet, and they gave way, to return no more. In the meantime the enemy made repeated attempts to carry General Thomas' position on the left and front, but were as often thrown back with great loss. Near nightfall

the enemy fell back beyond the range of our artillery, leaving General Thomas victorious on the hard-fought field.'

"During the night, Gen. Thomas fell back to Rossville, leaving the dead, and many of the wounded in the hands of the enemy. Gen. Sheridan, who had been cut off by the advance of the enemy, as he was upon the extreme right, gathered his brigades, and struck across Missionary Ridge, directly to the west. The enemy were in possession of the country north of him. As he reached the top of the ridge, he caused the 'assembly' to be blown, and picked up all the stragglers from the other divisions that he could find. He had lost three pieces of artillery, but in his progress met a whole battery which had been abandoned, and took it in charge. Passing the enemy's flank, and regaining the road on the ridge, he turned east through Rossville, and, without halting, re-enforced Gen. Thomas at midnight. The position near Rossville was held during Monday without serious molestation from the enemy, and in the night the entire force was withdrawn to Chattanooga."*

In the battle of Chickamauga General Rosecrans lost 16,851 men (4,945 being captured), thirty-six pieces of cannon, and 8,450 small arms. The enemy's loss was 18,000 (2,003 prisoners being taken by us). The battle was a terrible blow to us. The right and centre were totally defeated, and only the glorious stand made by the left wing under General Thomas saved the army from destruction or capture.

After the battle, Bragg advanced to Missionary Ridge

* "Army Operations." Annual Encyclopædia, 1863.

and Lookout Mountain, investing the position of our army at Chattanooga, and cutting off its supplies.

The part borne by General Garfield in this terrible battle was important and honorable. "He wrote every order issued that day—one only excepted. This he did rarely as an amanuensis, but rather on the suggestions of his own judgment, afterwards submitting what he had prepared to Rosecrans for approval or change. The one order which he did not write was the fatal order to Wood which lost the battle. The meaning was correct; the words, however, did not clearly represent what Rosecrans meant, and the division commander in question so interpreted them as to destroy the right wing.

"The general commanding and his chief of staff were caught in the tide of the disaster and borne back toward Chattanooga." The chief of staff was sent to communicate with Thomas, while the general proceeded to prepare for the reception of the routed army.

"Such at least were the statements of the reports, and, in a technical sense, they were true. It should never be forgotten, however, in Garfield's praise, that it was on his own earnest representations that he was sent—that, in fact, he rather procured permission to go to Thomas, and so back into the battle, than received orders to do so. He refused to believe that Thomas was routed or the battle lost. He found the road environed with dangers; some of his escort were killed, and they all narrowly escaped death or capture. But he bore to Thomas the first news that officer had received of the disaster on the right, and gave the information on which he was able to extricate his command. At seven o'clock

that evening, under the personal supervision of General Gordon Granger and himself, a shotted salute from a battery of six Napoleon guns was fired into the woods after the last of the retreating assailants. They were the last shots of the battle of Chickamauga, and what was left of the Union army was master of the field. For the time the enemy evidently regarded himself as repulsed; and Garfield said that night, and has always since maintained, that there was no necessity for the immediate retreat on Rossville."

The Union army fell back to Chattanooga. General Garfield gave his best energies to the task of getting it into condition for further service. He ably seconded General Rosecrans in his efforts to hold his position against the Confederates who had advanced to Chattanooga and had laid siege to the place. After a few weeks of this service, he was sent to Washington by General Rosecrans as the bearer of despatches. On the 18th of October General Rosecrans was removed from the command of the army of the Cumberland. Upon reaching Washington, General Garfield learned that he had been promoted by the President to the rank of major-general of volunteers, "for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Chickamauga."

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL GARFIELD ENTERS CONGRESS.

General Garfield Elected to Congress from the Western Reserve District—Desires to Remain in the Army—His Reasons for Resigning his Commission and Entering Congress—Character of his District—Reasons for his Election—Decides to Leave the Army—Enters Congress—Takes a Commanding Position in the House—Appointed to the Military Committee—Estimate of him as one of the Leaders of the Republican Party—His Habits of Industry—His Mode of Rest—Mr. Long, of Ohio, proposes to Recognize the Southern Confederacy—A Brilliant Invective—An Impressive Scene in the House—Delight of the Republicans over Garfield's Reply—It Ensures his Success in the House—Mr. Garfield in Demand as a Speaker—The Inconvenience of being Too Ready an Orator—General Garfield's Account of Congress—Its History—Its Great Services—Its Intimate Connection with the People—How it has become the National Mouthpiece and Defender—Congress and the Constitution—Congress and the President—Congress and the People—A Statesman's Views.

THE battle of Chickamauga practically closed General Garfield's military career. A new field of service was now opened to him. In 1862, while he was still in the army, the people of his district elected him to Congress. This was a high compliment, for the district had been represented by men of great prominence in the Republican party, and the people had come to expect a high degree of ability from their representative. General Garfield was strongly tempted to remain in the army. He had risen steadily to the grade of Major-General, and

had won a reputation that was both honorable and enviable. He was highly esteemed by the Government, and was regarded by the War Department as one of the most trusted and competent officers in the service. It was very certain that he would be assigned to important commands in the future, and would reap additional honors and reputation. His future, indeed, promised to be a brilliant one. He was also a poor man, and his Major-General's pay was more than double the salary of a congressman. There were, therefore, many inducements to him to remain in the service. He thought the matter over earnestly, and came to the conclusion that it was his duty to resign his commission and accept the seat in the House of Representatives to which he had been elected. He was one of those who thought that a few months more would end the war, and believed that he could be spared from the field. He felt that, as his constituents had called him from the army and sent him to Congress, it was his duty to obey their wishes and take his seat. Moreover, his army friends advised him urgently to enter Congress, as they believed that, coming fresh from the army and understanding its wants, he could render good service by promoting legislation calculated to maintain and improve the efficiency of the service. Influenced by these views, General Garfield determined to sacrifice his own wishes, and on the 5th of December, 1863, he resigned his commission, after nearly three years of service. He did this very reluctantly.

The Congressional district in which General Garfield lived, was the Western Reserve of Ohio, and had long

been represented by Joshua R. Giddings, the veteran leader of the Free-soil party. Mr. Giddings was so regularly returned to Congress by his constituents that he finally came to regard his nomination and election as fixed beyond all doubt, and grew careless of his interests. This over-confidence led to his overthrow. In 1858 a Mr. Hutchins, an ambitious lawyer of the district, took advantage of Mr. Giddings' indifference, to carry the convention against him, and thus secured the nomination for himself. His election followed, as a matter of course. The friends of Mr. Giddings never forgave him for his course, and determined to put him out of Congress at the earliest practicable moment. Mr. Giddings, in the meantime, was appointed Consul to Montreal, and was so well satisfied with his position that he did not care to make the fight necessary to get back to Congress. His supporters, therefore, resolved to nominate General Garfield in his place, believing that his great popularity would make his election an easy matter. The convention, therefore nominated General Garfield, without asking his consent, and he was triumphantly elected by the people, as has been stated, in 1862.

“When he heard of the nomination, Garfield reflected that it would be fifteen months before the Congress to which he had been elected would meet, and believing, as did everyone else, that the war could not possibly last a year longer, concluded to accept. ‘I have often heard him,’ says a friend, ‘express regret that he did not help to fight the war through, and say that he would never have left the army to go to Congress had he foreseen that the struggle would last beyond the year 1863.’”

Mr. Garfield took his seat in the House of Representatives in December, 1863. He was appointed a member of the committee on military affairs, of which General Schenck, who was also fresh from the army, was chairman. He did good service on this committee in helping to carry through the measures which reunited the army and maintained its efficiency during the last years of the war. He knew the needs of the army thoroughly, and was always its faithful and judicious friend, so that he was enabled to render to his country quite as good service in the halls of Congress as he could have performed in the field. He was also appointed chairman of a select committee of seven charged with investigating alleged frauds in the money-printing bureau of the Treasury Department. He at once took and maintained a commanding position in the House. He was known as a powerful speaker, remarkably ready and able in debate. A recent writer, referring to his position as one of the leaders of his party in the House, says :

“As a leader in the House he is more cautious and less dashing than Blaine, and his judicial turn of mind makes him too prone to look for two sides of a question to be an efficient partisan. When the issue fairly touches his convictions, however, he becomes thoroughly aroused, and strikes tremendous blows. Blaine’s tactics were to continually harass the enemy by sharp-shooting surprises and picket-firing. Garfield waits for an opportunity to deliver a pitched battle, and his generalship is shown to the best advantage when the fight is a fair one and waged on grounds where each party thinks itself the strongest. Then his solid shot of argument are ex-

ceedingly effective. On the stump Garfield is one of the very best orators in the Republican party. He has a good voice, an air of evident sincerity, great clearness and vigor of statement, and a way of knitting his arguments together so as to make a speech deepen its impression on the mind of the hearer until the climax is reached.

“Of his industry and studious habits a great deal might be said, but a single illustration will have to suffice here. Once during the busiest part of a very busy session at Washington I found him in his library, behind a big barricade of books. This was no unusual sight, but when I glanced at the volumes I saw that they were all different editions of Horace, or books relating to that poet. ‘I find I am overworked and need recreation,’ said the General. ‘Now, my theory is that the best way to rest the mind is not to let it be idle, but to put it at something quite outside of the ordinary line of its employment. So I am resting by learning all the Congressional library can show about Horace, and the various editions and translations of his poems.’”

One of General Garfield’s most remarkable speeches in the House, and one that secured his position as a leader in his party, was delivered within a few months after his entrance into Congress. On the 8th of April, 1864, Mr. Alexander Long, a representative from Ohio, delivered an exceedingly ultra Peace-Democratic speech, proposing the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. The speech attracted to an unusual degree the attention of the House, and was listened to with indignation, the orator being allowed to state his whole case fully and fairly. It was

evident from General Garfield's manner that he meant to reply, and by common consent he was allowed to speak not only for himself, but for the great party to which he belonged. As soon as Mr. Long took his seat, General Garfield rose. In a few thrilling sentences he riveted the attention of the House, and held it throughout the whole of his brilliant invective. He had scarcely commenced to speak when the members from the remoter parts of the hall began to crowd around him and listen to him with breathless attention. The speech was as follows :

“Mr. Chairman.—I should be obliged to you if you would direct the sergeant-at-arms to bring a white flag and plant it in the aisle between myself and my colleague who has just addressed you.

“I recollect on one occasion when two great armies stood face to face, under a white flag just planted, I approached a company of men dressed in the uniform of the rebel Confederacy, and reached out my hand to one of the number, and told him I respected him as a brave man. Though he wore the emblems of his disloyalty and treason, still underneath his vestments I beheld a brave and honest soul.

“I would reproduce that scene here this afternoon. I say were there such a flag of truce—but God forgive me if I should do it under any other circumstances!—I would reach out this right hand and ask that gentleman to take it, because I honor his bravery and honesty. I believe what has just fallen from his lips is the honest sentiment of his heart, and in uttering it he has made a new epoch in the history of this war; he has done a new thing under the sun; he has done a brave thing. It is braver

than to face cannon and musketry, and I honor him for his candor and frankness.

“But now I ask you to take away the flag of truce, and I will go back inside the Union lines and speak of what he has done. I am reminded of it by a distinguished character in ‘Paradise Lost.’ When he had rebelled against the glory of God, and ‘led away a third part of heaven’s sons conjured against the Highest;’ when after terrible battles in which mountains and hills were hurled by each contending host ‘with ‘jaculations dire;’ when, at last, the leader and his hosts were hurled ‘nine times the space that measures day and night,’ and after the terrible fall lay stretched prone on the burning lake, Satan lifted up his shattered hulk, crossed the abyss, looked down into paradise, and soliloquizing, said :

“ ‘Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell!’ It seems to me he expressed the very sentiment to which you have just listened; uttered by one no less brave, malign, and fallen. This man gathers up the meaning of this great contest, the philosophy of the moment, the prophecies of the hour, and in sight of the paradise of victory and peace, utters them all in this wail of terrible despair, ‘Which way I fly is hell.’ He ought to add, ‘Myself am hell!’”

• “Mr. Chairman, I am reminded by the occurrences of this afternoon of two characters in the war of the Revolution, as compared with two others in the war of to-day.

“The first was Lord Fairfax, who dwelt near the Potomac, a few miles from us. When the great contest was opened between the mother country and the colonies, Lord Fairfax, after a protracted struggle with his own heart, decided that he must go with the mother country.

He gathered his mantle about him and went over grandly and solemnly.

“There was another man who cast in his lot with the struggling colonists, and continued with them till the war was wellnigh ended. In an hour of darkness that just preceded the glory of the morning, he hatched the treason to surrender forever all that had been gained to the enemies of his country. Benedict Arnold was the man!

“Fairfax and Arnold find their parallel in the struggle of to-day.

“When this war began many good men stood hesitating and doubting what they ought to do. Robert E. Lee sat in his house across the river here, doubting and delaying, and going off at last almost tearfully to join the army of his State. He reminds one in some respects of Lord Fairfax, the stately royalist of the Revolution.

“But now, when tens of thousands of brave souls have gone up to God under the shadow of the flag; when thousands more, maimed and shattered in the contest, are sadly awaiting the deliverance of death; now, when three years of terrific warfare have raged over us; when our armies have pushed the Rebellion back over mountains and rivers, and crowded it into narrow limits, until a wall of fire girds it; now, when the uplifted hand of a majestic people is about to hurl the bolts of its conquering power upon the Rebellion; now, in the quiet of this hall, hatched in the lowest depths of a similar dark treason, there rises a Benedict Arnold and proposes to surrender all up, body and spirit, the Nation and the Flag, its genius and its honor, now and forever, to the accursed traitors to our country! And that proposition comes—

God forgive and pity my beloved State!—it comes from a citizen of the time honored and loyal Commonwealth of Ohio!

“I implore you, brethren, in this House, to believe that not many births ever gave pangs to my mother State such as she suffered when that traitor was born! I beg you not to believe that on the soil of that State another such growth has ever deformed the face of nature and darkened the light of God’s day. [An audible whisper, ‘Vallandigham.’] But, ah! I am reminded that there are other such. My zeal and love for Ohio have carried me too far. I retract. I remember that only a few days since a political convention met at the capital of my State, and almost decided to select from just such material a representative for the Democratic party in the coming contest; and to-day what claim to be a majority of the Democracy of that State say they have been cheated, or they would have made that choice. I, therefore, sadly take back the boast I first uttered in behalf of my native State.

“But, sir, I will forget States. We have something greater than States and State pride to talk of here to-day. All personal or State feeling aside, I ask you what is the proposition which the enemy of his country has just made. What is it?

“For the first time in the history of this contest it is proposed in this hall, to give up the struggle, to abandon the war, and let treason run riot through the land! I will, if I can, dismiss feeling from my heart, and try to consider only what bears upon the logic of the speech to which we have just listened.

“ First of all, the gentleman tells us that the right of secession is a constitutional right. I do not propose to enter into the argument. I have expressed myself hitherto upon State rights and State sovereignty, of which this proposition of his is the legitimate child.

“ But the gentleman takes higher ground, and in that I agree with him—namely, that five million or eight million people possess the right of revolution. Grant it; we agree there. If fifty-nine men can make revolution successful, they have the right of revolution. If one State wishes to break its connection with the Federal Government, and does it by force, maintaining itself, it is an independent State. If the eleven Southern States are determined and resolved to leave the Union, to secede, to revolutionize, and can maintain that revolution by force, they have the revolutionary right to do so. Grant it. I stand on that platform with the gentleman.

“ And now the question comes, is it our constitutional duty to let them do it? That is the question, and in order to reach it, I beg to call your attention, not to an argument, but to the condition of affairs which would result from such action—the mere statement of which becomes the strongest possible argument. What does the gentleman propose? Where will he draw the line of division? If the rebels carry into successful secession what they desire to carry; if their revolution envelops as many States as they intend it shall envelop; if they draw the line where Isham G. Harris, the rebel Governor of Tennessee, in the rebel camp near our lines, told Mr. Vallandigham they would draw it, along the line of the Ohio and of the Potomac; if they make good their state-

ment to him that they will never consent to any other line, then, I ask, what is this thing the gentleman proposes to do? He proposes to leave the United States a territory reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and one hundred miles wide in the centre. From Wellsville, on the Ohio River, to Cleveland on the lakes is one hundred miles. I ask you, Mr. Chairman, if there be a man here so insane as to suppose that the American people will allow their magnificent proportions to be shorn to so deformed a shape as this?

“I tell you, and I confess it here, that while I hope I have something of human courage, I have not enough to contemplate such a result. I am not brave enough to go to the brink of the precipice of a successful secession, and look down into its damnable abyss. If my vision were keen enough to pierce its bottom, I would not dare to look. If there be a man here who dare contemplate such a scene, I look upon him either as the bravest of the sons of women, or as a downright madman. Secession to gain peace! Secession is the tocsin of eternal war! There can be no end to such a war as will be inaugurated if this thing be done.

“Suppose the policy of the gentleman were adopted to-day. Let the order go forth! Sound the ‘recall’ on your bugles, and let it ring forth from Texas to the far Atlantic, and tell the armies to come back. Call the victorious legions back over the battle-fields of blood, forever now disgraced. Call them back over the territory which they have conquered. Call them back, and let the minions of secession chase them with derision and jeers as they come. And then tell them that that man

across the aisle, from the free State of Ohio, gave birth to the monstrous proposition.

“Mr. Chairman, if such a word should be sent forth through the armies of the Union, the wave of terrible vengeance that would sweep back over this land could never find a parallel in the records of history. Almost in the moment of final victory the ‘recall’ is sounded by a craven people not deserving freedom! We ought, every man, to be made a slave, should we sanction such a sentiment.

“The gentleman has told us there is no such thing as coercion justifiable under the constitution. I ask him for one moment to reflect that no statute was ever enforced without coercion. It is the basis of every law in the universe—God’s law as well as man’s. A law is no law without coercion behind it. When a man has murdered his brother, coercion takes the murderer, tries him, and hangs him. When you levy your taxes, coercion secures their collection. It follows the shadow of the thief, and brings him to justice; it accompanies your diplomacy to foreign courts, and backs the declaration of the nation’s rights by a pledge of the nation’s power. But when the life of that nation is imperilled, we are told that it has no coercive power against the paracides in its own bosom! Again, he tells us that oaths taken under the Amnesty Proclamation are good for nothing. The oath of Galileo, he says, was not binding upon him. I am reminded of another oath that was taken; but perhaps it too was an oath on the lips alone, to which the heart made no response.

“I remember to have stood in a line of nineteen men

from Ohio, on that carpet yonder, on the first day of the session, and I remember that, with uplifted hands, before Almighty God, those nineteen took an oath to support and maintain the Constitution of the United States. And I remember that another oath was passed around, and each member signed it as provided by law, utterly repudiating the Rebellion and its pretenses. Does the gentleman not blush to speak of Galileo's oath? Was not his own its counterpart?

“He says the Union can never be restored because of the terrible hatred engendered by the war. To prove it he quoted what some Southern man said a few years ago, that he knew no hatred between peoples in the world like that between the North and the South. And yet that North and South have been one nation for eighty-eight years.

“Have we seen in this contest anything more bitter than the wars of the Scottish Border? Have we seen anything bitterer than those terrible feuds in the days of Edward, when England and Scotland were the deadliest foes on earth? And yet for centuries these countries have been cemented in an indissoluble union that has made the British nation one of the proudest of the earth!

“I said, a little while ago, that I accepted the proposition of the gentleman that the rebels had the right of revolution; and the decisive issue between us and the Rebellion is, whether they shall revolutionize and destroy, or we shall subdue and preserve. We take the latter ground. We take the common weapons of war to meet them; and if these be not sufficient I would take any element which will overwhelm and destroy. I would

sacrifice the dearest and best beloved; I would take all the old sanctions of law and the constitution and fling them to the winds, if necessary, rather than let the nation be broken in pieces, and its people destroyed with endless ruin.

“What is the constitution that these gentlemen perpetually fling in our faces whenever we desire to strike hard blows against the Rebellion? It is the production of the American people. They made it, and the creator is mightier than the creature. The power which made the constitution can also make other instruments to do its great work in the day of its dire necessity.”

This speech, which was delivered on the spur of the moment in reply to an elaborately prepared argument, at once placed General Garfield in the front rank of Republican leaders, and from this time he ranked as one of the readiest and most brilliant Republican speakers. “This standing he never lost. It was, however, to prove in some respects injurious to his rising fame. He spoke so readily that members were constantly asking his services in behalf of favored measures; and in the impulsive eagerness of a young man and a young member, he often consented. He thus came to be too frequent a speaker; and by and by the House wearied a little of his polished periods and began to think him too fond of talking. After a time this little reaction in the general feeling of the House toward him wore off.” “His superior knowledge,” says another writer, “used to offend some of his less learned colleagues at first. They thought him bookish and pedantic until they found how solid and useful was his store of knowledge,

and how pertinent to the business in hand were the drafts he made upon it. His genial personal ways soon made him many warm friends in Congress. The men of brains in both houses and in the departments were not long in discovering that here was a fresh, strong intellectual force that was destined to make its mark upon the politics of the country. They sought his acquaintance, and before he had been long in Washington he had the advantage of the best society of the capital."

In view of his long service in the popular House of Congress, and his certain elevation to the executive chair, General Garfield's views respecting the proper position of Congress in our system of government, its rights and duties, and its relations to the other branches of the Government, are of the greatest importance to his countrymen, and will be read by them with the deepest interest. He thus stated them in an article contributed by him to the "Atlantic Monthly" for July, 1877:

"We have seen the close of our memorial year, during which societies, the States, and the nation have been reviewing the completed century and forecasting the character of that which has just begun.

"Our people have been tracing the footprints of the fathers along the many paths which united to form the great highway whereon forty millions of Americans are now marching. If we would profit by the great lessons of the centennial year, we must study thoughtfully and reverently the elements and forces that have made the Republic what it is, and which will in a great measure shape and direct its future.

"No study of these themes can lead to a just view of

our institutions which does not include within its range a survey of the history and functions of

THE AMERICAN CONGRESS.

“Indeed, the history of liberty and union in this country, as developed by their successors, is inseparably connected with the history of the national legislature. Nor can they be separated in the future. The Union and Congress must share the same fate. They must rise or fall together.

“The germ of our political institutions, the primary cell from which they were evolved, was the New England town; and the vital force, the improving soul of the town was the town meeting, which for all local concerns was king, lords and commons in one. It was the training school in which our fathers learned the science and the art of self-government, the school which has made us the most parliamentary people on the globe.

“In what other quarter of the world could such a phenomenon have been witnessed as the creation of the government of California in 1849, when out of the most heterogeneous and discordant elements a constitution and body of laws were formed and adopted which challenge comparison with those of the oldest governments in the world? This achievement was due to the law making habit of Americans. The spirit of the town meeting guided the colonies in their aspirations for independence, and finally created the Union. The Congress of the Union is the most general and comprehensive expression of this legislative habit of our people.

“The materials for tracing the origin of Congress are

scanty ; but they are sufficient to show the spirit which gave it birth.

“The idea of a Congress on this continent sprang from the necessity of union among the colonies for mutual protection ; and the desire for union logically expressed itself in an intercolonial representative assembly. Every such assembly in America has been a more or less marked symbol of union.

AMERICAN UNION.

“The first decisive act of union among the colonists was the convention of 1690, at New York. The revolution of 1689 in England, resulted in immediate and desperate war between that country and France, and soon involved the British and French colonies of America. The French of Canada, aided by the northern Indians, determined to carry the flag of Louis XIV. down the valley of the Hudson, and thus break in twain the British colonies. To meet this danger and to retaliate upon France, the General Court of Massachusetts, ever watchful of the welfare of its people, addressed letters of invitation to the neighboring colonies, asking them to appoint commissioners to meet and consult for the common defence. These commissioners met in convention, at New York, on the 1st of May, 1690, and determined to raise an “army” of eight hundred and fifty-five men, from the five colonies of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and Maryland, to repel the threatened invasion and to capture Canada in the name of William and Mary.*

* Doc. History of New York, vol. ii., page 239, and Bancroft's History, vol. iii., page 133.

Some of our historians have called this meeting of commissioners 'the first American Congress.' I find no evidence that the name 'Congress' was then applied to that assembly; though it is doubtless true that its organization and mode of procedure contained the germ of the future Congress.

"The New York convention called upon each of the five colonies for its quota of troops for the little army, and intrusted the management of the campaign to a board or council of war consisting of one officer from each colony. The several quotas were proportioned to the population of the several colonies, while the great and small colonies had an equal voice in directing the expedition. Here, in embryo, was the duplex system of popular and State representation.

THE FIRST AMERICAN CONGRESS.

"Sixty-four years later, a convention of commissioners from seven of the colonies met at Albany and called themselves a 'Congress.' So far as I have been able to discover, this was the first American assembly which called itself by that name. It was probably adopted because the convention bore some resemblance to that species of European international convention which in the language of diplomacy was called a congress.

"In order to obtain a clearer view of this important Albany Congress of 1754, we must understand the events which immediately preceded it.

"In 1748, in obedience to orders from England, the governors of the northern colonies met at Albany to conclude a treaty of peace with the Six-Nations. After this

was accomplished, the governors, sitting in secret council, united in a complaint that their salaries were not promptly and regularly paid, but that the colonial legislatures insisted upon the right to determine, by annual appropriations, the amounts to be paid.

“ This petition, forwarded to the dissolute Duke of Bedford, then at the head of the colonial administration, was answered by a royal order directing the governors to demand from the colonial legislatures the payment of fixed salaries for a term of years, and threatening that if this were not done, Parliament would impose upon the colonies a direct tax for that purpose. Thus the first overt act which led to the Revolution was a demand for higher salaries; and, on the motion of the colonial governors at Albany, the British Board of Trade opened the debate in favor of parliamentary supremacy. Six years later came the reply from seven colonies through the Albany Congress of 1754.

“ War with France was again imminent. Her battalions had descended the Ohio, and were threatening the northern frontier. The colonial governors called upon the legislatures to send commissioners to Albany to secure the alliance of the Six-Nations against the French, and to adopt measures for the common defence. On the 19th of June, 1754, twenty-five commissioners met at the little village of Albany, and, following the example of the governors who met there six years before, completed their treaty with the Indians, and then opened the question of a colonial union for common defence.

“ Foremost among the commissioners was Benjamin Franklin; and through his voice and pen the Congress

and the colonies replied to the demands of England by proposing a plan of union to be founded upon the rights of the colonies as Englishmen. If his plan had been adopted, independence might have been delayed for half a century. Curiously enough, it was rejected by the colonies as having 'too much of the prerogative in it,' and by England as having 'too much of the democratic.'

"But the talismanic words 'Union' and 'Congress' had been spoken, and from that hour were never forgotten. The argument for colonial rights had also been stated in the perfect style of Franklin, and was never to be answered.

THE CONGRESS OF 1765.

"The second assembly which called itself a Congress met at New York in 1765. The mercantile policy of England, embodied in the long series of navigation acts, had finally culminated in Lord Grenville's stamp act and the general assertion of the right of Parliament to tax the colonies in all cases whatsoever. Again Massachusetts led the movement for union and resistance. On the 6th of June, 1765, her legislature adopted a resolution, offered by James Otis, to call a congress of delegates of the thirteen colonies, 'to consult together' and 'consider of a united representation to implore relief.' This call was answered by every colony, and on the 7th of October, 1765, twenty-seven delegates met at New York, and elected Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, chairman.

"There for the first time James Otis saw John Dickinson; there Gadsden and Rutledge sat beside Livingston and Dyer; there the brightest minds of America joined

in the discussion of their common danger and common rights. The session lasted eighteen days. Its deliberations were most solemn and momentous. Loyalty to the crown and a shrinking dread of opposing established authority were met by the fiery spirit which glowed in the breasts of the boldest thinkers. Amidst the doubt and hesitation of the hour, John Adams gave voice to the logic and spirit of the crisis when he said, 'You have rights antecedent to all earthly governments; rights that cannot be repealed or restrained by human laws; rights derived from the great Lawgiver of the universe.'

"Before adjourning they drafted and adopted a series of masterly addresses to the king, to the Parliament, to the people of England, and to their brethren of the colonies. They had formulated the thoughts of the people, and given voice to their aspirations for liberty. That Congress was indeed 'the day-star of the Revolution;' for though most of its members were devotedly loyal to the crown, yet, as Bancroft has said, some, like James Otis, as they went away from that Congress, 'seemed to hear the prophetic song of the sibyls chanting the spring-time of a new empire.'

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS OF 1774.

"Nine more years of supplication and neglect, of ministerial madness and stubborn colonial resistance, bring us to the early autumn of 1774, when the Continental Congress was assembling at Philadelphia. This time, the alarm had been sounded by New York, that a sister colony was being strangled by the heavy hand of a despotic ministry. The response was immediate and al-

most unanimous. From eleven colonies came the foremost spirits to take counsel for the common weal. From the assaulted colony came Samuel and John Adams, Cushing and Paine. They set out from Boston in August, escorted by great numbers as far as Watertown. Their journey was a solemn and triumphant march. The men of Hartford met them with pledges to 'abide by the resolves which Congress might adopt,' and accompanied them to Middletown with carriages and a cavalcade. The bells of New Haven welcomed them, and Roger Sherman addressed them. After visiting the grave of the regicide Bidwell, they left New Haven to be received at New York by the 'Sons of Liberty,' who attended them across the Hudson. Everywhere they were exhorted to be true to the honor of England and the liberties of America.*

"With them, from New York and New England, came Jay and Livingston, Sherman and Deane, Hopkins and Duane. From the south came Washington and Henry, Randolph and Lee, Gadsden and Rutledge, and many other names now familiar; in all fifty-five men, sent by eleven colonies.

"On Monday, the 5th of September, 1774, they met at Smith's Tavern, in Philadelphia, and proceeded in a body to the Hall of the Carpenters. With what dignity and solemnity they began their work! Choosing for president Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, and for secretary the gentle and learned Charles Thomson, the translator of the Septuagint and the Greek Testament, they formally declared themselves 'the Congress,' and their chairman 'the President.' And how soon the spirit of

* Bancroft, vol. vii., chaps. 8, 9.

union, in the presence of a common danger, began to melt down the sharp differences of individual opinion!

“The first psalm and prayer to which that Congress listened sounded like a chapter of history and prophecy combined. The psalm was not selected for the occasion, but was a part of the regular Episcopal service for that day, the 7th of the month: ‘Plead thou my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me, and fight thou against them that fight against me. Lay hand upon the shield and buckler, and stand up to help me. Bring forth the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me. Let them be turned back and brought to confusion that imagine mischief for me. Let them be as the dust before the wind, and let the angel of the Lord scatter them.’ When the minister had ended the formal service, the spirit of the occasion burst forth from his lips in these memorable words of prayer: ‘Look down upon these American States who have fled to thee from the rod of the oppressor, and have thrown themselves on thy precious protection, desiring to be henceforth dependent only on thee; to thee they have appealed for the righteousness of their cause.’

“What would we not give for a complete record of the proceedings of that Congress! It sat with closed doors, with no reporters, and made no official record except the brief journal of motions and votes. To this journal, to private letters, and tradition, we are indebted for all we know of its proceedings.

“The delegates were clothed with no legislative powers. They could only consult and recommend. But they held higher commissions than any which can be em-

bodied in formal credentials. It was their high duty to formulate the thoughts and express the aspirations of the New World. Yet no organized body of men ever directed with more absolute sway the opinions and conduct of a nation.

“As a reply to the Boston Port Bill, they requested all merchants and traders to send to Great Britain for no more goods until the sense of the Congress should be taken on the means for preserving the liberties of America. And this request was at once complied with. Knowing that the conduct of England was inspired by greed, that she had adopted the shopkeepers' policy, Congress resolved that, after a given date, the colonies would not buy from England nor sell to her merchants any commodity whatever, unless before that date the grievances of America should be redressed. And public sentiment rigidly enforced the resolution. With more distinctness and solemnity than ever before, the cause of the colonists, based on the inalienable laws of nature and the principles of the English constitution, was declared in addresses to the king, to the Parliament, and to the people of America; and, recommending that a new Congress be called the following spring, the Congress of 1774 adjourned, without day, on the 14th of October. The most striking fact connected with that Congress is that its resolutions were obeyed as though they had been clothed with all the sanctions of law. I doubt whether any law of Congress or of any State legislature has been so fully obeyed, in letter and spirit, as were the recommendations of the Continental Congress of 1774. But its action had been far from unanimous. There were strong men,

like Jay, who were conservative by nature and culture, and who restrained the more fiery enthusiasm of Henry and Adams; there were timid members who shrank from a contest with the royal authority; and there were traitors to the cause, who, like Galloway, secured a seat that they might more effectively serve the king as a royal spy.

“The resolves of that Congress and its address to the colonies were potent educating forces which prepared the people for a great struggle.

“Franklin was in England at that time, as the agent of the colonies, and presented the petitions of Congress. Parliament answered by declaring Massachusetts in rebellion. The king replied by sending an army to Boston and by offering to protect all loyal Americans, but ordering all others to be treated as traitors and rebels.

THE CONGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION AND OF THE CONFEDERATION.

“On the 10th of May, 1775, on the morning of the capture of Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen, the second Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia. The conduct of the king and Parliament, and the events at Boston, Lexington, and Concord, had already demonstrated the impossibility of reconciliation. It is difficult to imagine a situation more perplexing and more perilous than that which confronted the fifty-four members of the Congress of 1775. Their jurisdiction and powers were vague and uncertain; they were, in fact, only committees from twelve colonies, deputed to consult upon measures of conciliation, but with no means of resistance

to oppression beyond the voluntary agreement to suspend importations from Great Britain. "They formed no confederacy. They were not an executive government. They were not even a legislative body. They owed the use of a hall for their sessions to the courtesy of the carpenters of the city; there was not a foot of land on which they had a right to execute their decisions, and they had not one civil officer to carry out their commands, nor the power to appoint one.' They had no army, no treasury, no authority to tax, no right but to give counsel. 'They represented only the unformed opinion of an unformed people.'

"Yet that body was to undertake the great argument of reason with the foremost statesmen of Europe, and the greater argument of war with the first military power of the world. That Congress was to consolidate the vast and varied interests of a continent, express the will and opinion of three millions of people, and, amid the wreck and chaos of ruined colonial governments, rear the solid superstructure of a great republic. Strange as it now seems to us, timidity and conservatism controlled its action for nearly a year. The tie of affection that bound the colonists to England was too strong to be rudely severed. They deluded themselves by believing that while the tory party was their enemy, England was still their friend. Though their petition had been spurned with contempt, yet they postponed the most pressing necessities of the time in order to send a second humble petition and await an answer. After all, this delay was wise; the slow process of growth was going forward and could not be hastened. It was necessary that all

thoughtful men should see the hopelessness of reconciliation. It was necessary that the Dickinsons and the Jays should be satisfied. In the meantime, Congress was not idle; it was laying the foundation of the structure soon to be reared. In its proceedings, we find the origin of many customs which still prevail. On the 15th of May, 1775, it was ordered 'that this body will to-morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America.' This formula, modified only by the change of a single word, still describes the act by which each branch of our Congress resolves itself into 'a committee of the whole on the state of the Union.'

"On the 31st of May, 1775, on motion of Dr. Franklin, a committee was appointed to provide for 'establishing post for conveying letters and intelligence through the continent.' Franklin was made chairman of the committee, and thus became, in fact, the first postmaster-general of the United States.

"By resolution of June 14, 1775, Washington was made the chairman of our first committee on military affairs.

"On the 27th of May, 1775, it was resolved that Mr. Washington, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Mifflin, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Samuel Adams be a committee to consider of ways and means to supply these colonies with ammunition and military stores. Thus Washington was the chairman of our first committee of ways and means.

"While Congress was waiting for the king's answer to its second petition, Franklin revived the 'plan of union' which he had suggested twenty-one years before,

at the Albany Congress, and which finally, with a few changes, became the Articles of Confederation.

“It was not until the spring of 1776 that the action of the British Government destroyed all hopes of reconciliation; and when, at last, the great declaration was adopted, both the colonies and the Congress saw that their only safety lay in the boldest measures. By the Declaration of Independence, the sovereignty of the colonies was withdrawn from the British crown and lodged in the Continental Congress. No one of the colonies was ever independent or sovereign. No one colony declared itself independent of Great Britain; nor was the declaration made by all the colonies together *as colonies*.* It was made in the name and by the authority of the good people of the colonies as one nation. By that act they created, not independent States, but an independent nation, and named it ‘The United States of America;’ and, by the consent of the people, the sovereignty of the new nation was lodged in the Continental Congress. This is true, not only in point of law, but as a historical fact. The Congress became the only legislative, executive, and judicial power of the nation; the army became the army of the Continental Congress. One of its regiments, which was recruited from the nation generally, was called, ‘Congress’s Own,’ as a sort of reply to the ‘King’s Own,’ a royal regiment stationed at Boston. Officers were commissioned by Congress, and were sworn to obey its orders. The president of Congress was the chief executive officer of the nation. The chairmen of committees were heads of the executive depart-

* Von Holst’s “Constitutional History of the United States,” page 6.

ments. A committee sat as judges in admiralty and prize cases. The power of Congress was unlimited by any law or regulation, except the consent of the people themselves.

“On the first day of March, 1781, the Articles of Confederation, drafted by Congress, became the law of the land. But the functions of Congress were so slightly changed that we may say, with almost literal truth, that the Continental Congress which met on the 10th of May, 1775, continued unchanged in its character, and held an almost continuous session for thirteen years.

“‘History knows few bodies so remarkable. The Long Parliament of Charles I. and the French National Assembly of the last century are alone to be compared with it.’ Strange as it may appear, the acts of the Continental Congress which finally brought most disaster to the people, were those which gave to Congress its chief power. With no authority to levy direct taxes, Congress had but one resource for raising revenue: forced loans, in the form of bills of credit. And, so long as the Continental money maintained a reasonable share of credit, Congress was powerful. It was able to pay its army, its officers, and its agents, and thus to tide over the most difficult period of the Revolution.

“Great and conspicuous as were the services of the Continental Congress, it did not escape the fate which has pursued its successors. Jealousy of its power was manifested in a thousand ways; and the epithet “King Cong” was the byword of reproach during the latter half of the war. The people could not hear with patience that the members of Congress were living in comfort while the

soldiers were starving and freezing at Valley Forge. They accused Congress of weakness, indecision, and delay; of withholding its full confidence from Washington; and finally of plotting to supersede him by assigning an ambitious rival to his place. It is no doubt true that some intriguing members favored this disgraceful and treacherous design; but they would not have been representative men if all had been patriots and sages.

“The Continental Congress was a migratory body, compelled sometimes to retire before the advance of the British army, and sometimes to escape the violence of the mob who assaulted its doors and demanded appropriations. Beginning its session in Philadelphia, it took refuge in Baltimore before the end of 1776. Later, it returned to Philadelphia; went thence to Lancaster; thence to York; then again to Philadelphia; thence, in succession, to Princeton, to Annapolis, and to Trenton; and finally terminated its career in the city of New York.

“The estimation in which that Congress was held is the best gauge by which to judge of the strength and weakness of our government under the confederation. While the inspiration of the war fired the hearts of the people, Congress was powerful; but when the victory was won, and the long arrears of debts and claims came up for payment, the power of Congress began to wane. Smitten with the curse of poverty and the greater curse of depreciated paper money, loaded with debts they could not pay, living as “pensioners on the bounty of France, insulted and scouted at by the public creditors, unable to fulfil the treaties they had made, bearded and encroached upon by the State authorities, finally begging for addi-

tional authority which the States refused to grant, thrown more and more into the shade by the very contrast of former power, the Continental Congress sank fast into decrepitude and contempt.”*

“During the last three or four years of its existence, few men of first-class abilities were willing to serve as members. It was difficult to secure the attendance of those who were elected; and when a quorum was obtained, it was impossible, under the articles of confederation, to accomplish any worthy work. Even after the adoption of the new constitution, the old Congress was so feeble that for many months it was doubtful whether it had enough vitality left to pass the necessary ordinance appointing the day for the presidential election and the day for putting the new government in motion.

“With a narrowness and selfishness almost incredible, the old Congress wrangled and debated and disagreed for weeks and months before they could determine where the new government should find its temporary seat.

“It is sad to reflect that a body whose early record was so glorious should be doomed to drag out a feeble existence for many months, and expire at last without a sign, with not even the power to announce its own dissolution.

“I have always regarded our national constitution as the most remarkable achievement in the history of legislation. As the weakness of the old confederation became more apparent, the power of the separate States became greater, and the difficulties of union were correspondingly increased. It needed all the appreciation of common

* Hildreth, vol. iii., page 547.

danger, springing from such popular tumults as Shay's Rebellion, all the foreign complications that grew out of the weakness of the confederation, and finally, all the authority of the fathers of the Revolution, with Washington at their head, to frame the constitution and to secure its adoption. We are apt to forget how near our government was brought to the verge of chaos, and to forget by how small a vote the constitution was adopted in many of the States. Only in Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia was the vote unanimous. Even Massachusetts gave it but a majority of nineteen out of a vote of three hundred and fifty-six. In Virginia it received but ten majority, in New Hampshire eleven, and in Pennsylvania twenty-three. These votes disclose the strength of the political parties, federal and anti-federal, to which the constitution gave birth. This brings us to

THE CONGRESS OF THE CONSTITUTION,

which began its first session at New York, on the 4th of March, 1789.

“Fears were entertained that some of the States might neglect or refuse to elect senators and representatives. Three States had hitherto refused to adopt the constitution. More than a month passed before a quorum of the Senate and House appeared in New York; but on the 6th of April, 1789, a quorum of both houses met in joint session and witnessed the opening and counting of the votes for President and Vice-President by John Langdon. Having dispatched the venerable Charles Thomson, late secretary of the old Congress, to Mount Vernon, to inform Washington of his election, the new Congress

addressed itself to the great work required by the constitution. The three sessions of the first Congress lasted in the aggregate five hundred and nineteen days, exceeding by more than fifty days the sessions of any subsequent Congress. It was the high duty of this body to interpret the powers conferred upon it by the constitution, and to put in motion not only the machinery of the Senate and House, but the more complex machinery of the executive and judicial departments.

“It is worth while to observe with what largeness of comprehension and minuteness of detail the members of that Congress studied the problems before them. While Washington was making his way from Mount Vernon to New York, they were determining with what ceremonials he should be received, and with what formalities the intercourse between the President and the Congress should be conducted. A joint committee of both houses met him on the Jersey shore, in a richly furnished barge, and landing at the Battery, escorted him to the residence which Congress had prepared and furnished for his reception. Then came the question of the title by which he should be addressed. The Senate insisted that ‘a decent respect for the opinion and practice of civilized nations required a special title,’ and proposed that the President should be addressed as ‘His Highness the President of the United States of America, and Protector of their Liberties.’ At the earnest remonstrance of the more Republican house, the Senate gave way, and finally agreed that he should be addressed simply as ‘the President of the United States.’

“It was determined that the President should, in per-

son, deliver his 'annual speech,' as it was then called, to the two houses in joint session; and that each house should adopt an address in reply, to be delivered to the President at his official residence.

"These formalities were manifestly borrowed from the practice of the British Parliament, and were maintained until near the close of Jefferson's administration.

"Communications from the executive departments were also to be made to the two houses by the heads of those departments in person. This custom was unfortunately swept away by the Republican reaction which set in a few years later.

"Among questions of ceremony were also the rules by which the President should regulate his social relations to citizens. Washington addressed a long letter of inquiry to John Adams, and to several other leading statesmen of that time, asking their advice on this subject. The inquiry resulted in the conclusion that the President should be under no obligation to make or return any social call; but regular days were appointed, on which the President should hold levees and thus maintain social intercourse with his fellow-citizens. At these assemblages the President and Mrs. Washington occupied an elevated dais, and introductory ceremonies of obeisance and salutation were carefully prescribed.

"Not less curious, as indicating the spirit of that time, were the formalities of intercourse between the two branches of Congress. When a communication was sent from one house to the other, the messenger was required to make his obeisance as he entered the bar, a second as he delivered his message to the presiding

officer, a third after its delivery, and a final obeisance as he retired from the hall. It was much debated whether the members of each house should remain standing while a communication was being delivered from the other. These formalities were subsequently much abridged, though traces of them still remain.

“In adopting its rules of procedure, the House provided, among other things, that the sergent-at-arms should procure a proper symbol of his office, of such form and device as the speaker should direct, to be placed *on* the table during the sitting of the House, but *under* the table when the House is in committee of the whole; said symbol to be borne by the sergent-at-arms when executing the commands of the House during its sitting. This symbol, now called the speaker's mace, modelled after the Roman *fasces*, is a bundle of ebony rods, fastened with silver bands, having at its top a silver globe surmounted by a silver eagle. In the red-republican period of Jefferson's administration, an attempt was made to banish the mace; and a zealous economist in the House of Representatives proposed to melt down and coin its silver, and convert the proceeds into the treasury. The motion failed, however, and the mace still holds its place at the right hand of the speaker, when the House is in session.

“The House conducted its proceedings with open doors; but the Senate, following the example of the Continental Congress, held all sessions in secret until near the end of the second Congress. Since then its doors have been closed during executive sessions only.

“It is greatly to the credit of the eminent men who

sat in the first Congress that they deliberated long and carefully before they completed any work of legislation. They had been in session four months when their first bill, 'relating to the time and manner of administering certain oaths,' became a law. Then followed in quick succession the great statutes of the session: to provide a revenue to fill the empty treasury of the nation; to create the department of the treasury, the department of foreign affairs, the department of war; to create an army; to regulate commerce; to establish the government of our vast territory; and, that monument of juridical learning, the act to establish the judiciary of the United States.

"I must not omit from this summary the ninth statute in the order of time, the 'act for the establishment and support of light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers.' As an example of broad-minded statesmanship on the subject, that statute stands alone in the legislative history of the last century. Everywhere else the commerce of the ocean was annoyed and obstructed by unjust and vexatious light-house charges. But our first Congress, in a brief statute of four sections, provided 'that from the 15th day of August, 1789, all the light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers of the United States shall be maintained at the expense of the national treasury.' From that date the lights of our coast have shone free as the sunlight for all the ships of the world.

"Great as were the merits of that first Congress, it was not free from many of the blemishes which have clouded the fame of its successors. It dampens not a little our enthusiasm for the 'superior virtues of the

fathers,' to learn that Hamilton's monument of statesmanship, the funding bill, which gave life to the public credit and saved from dishonor the war debts of the States, was for a time hopelessly defeated by the votes of one section of the Union, and was carried at last by a legislative bargain, which in the mildest slang of our day would be called a 'log-rolling job.' The bill fixing the permanent seat of the government on the banks of the Potomac was the argument which turned the scale and carried the funding bill. The bargain carried them both through. Nor were demagogues of the smaller type unknown among our fathers. For example, when a joint resolution was pending in the house of the first Congress to supply each member at the public expense with copies of all the newspapers published in New York, an amendment was offered to restrict the supply to one paper for each member, the preamble declaring that this appropriation was made 'because newspapers, being highly beneficial in disseminating useful knowledge, are deserving of public encouragement by Congress.' That is, the appropriation was not to be made for the benefit of members, but to aid and encourage the press! The proprietors of our great dailies would smile at this patriotic regard for their prosperity. It is scarcely necessary to add that the original resolution passed without the amendment.

"Whatever opinions we may now entertain of the federalists as a party, it is unquestionably true that we are indebted to them for the strong points of the constitution, and for the stable government they founded and strengthened during the administrations of Washing-

ton and Adams. Hardly a month passed, during that period, in which threats of disunion were not made with more or less vehemence and emphasis. But the foundations of national union and prosperity had been so wisely and deeply laid that succeeding revolutions of public opinion failed to destroy them.

“With the administration of Jefferson came the reaction against the formal customs and stately manners of the founders. That skilful and accomplished leader of men, who had planted the germ of secession in the resolutions of 1798, brought to his administration the aid of those simple, democratic manners which were so effectual in deepening the false impression that the preceding administration had sought to establish a monarchy.

“In delivering his inaugural, Jefferson appeared before Congress in the plainest attire. Discarding the plush breeches, silk stockings, and silver knee-buckles, he wore plain pantaloons; and his Republican admirers noted the fact that no aristocratic shoe-buckles covered his instep, but his plain American shoes were fastened with honest leather strings. The carriage and footmen, with outriders in livery, disappeared; and the spectacle of the President on horseback was hailed as the certain sign of Republican equality. These changes were noted by his admirers as striking proofs of his democratic spirit; but they did not escape the equally extravagant and absurd criticism of his enemies. Mr. Goodrich has preserved an anecdote which illustrates the absurdity of both parties. Near the close of Jefferson’s term, the congressional caucus had named Mr. Madison for the president. The leading barber of Washington (who was

of course a federalist) while shaving a federalist senator, vehemently burst out in this strain :

“ ‘ Surely this country is doomed to disgrace and shame. What presidents we might have, sir ! Just look at Daggett, of Connecticut, and Stockton, of New Jersey ! What queues they have got, sir—as big as your wrist, and powdered every day, sir, like real gentlemen as they are. Such men, sir, would confer dignity upon the chief magistracy ; but this little Jim Madison, with a queue no bigger than a pipe-stem ! Sir, it is enough to make a man forswear his country ! ’

“ Many customs of that early time have been preserved to our own day. In the crypt constructed under the dome of the Capitol, as the resting-place for the remains of Washington, a guard was stationed, and a light was kept burning for more than half a century. Indeed, the office of keeper of the crypt was not abolished until after the late war.

“ For the convenience of one of the early speakers of the House, an urn filled with snuff was fastened to the speaker’s desk : and until last year, I have never known it to be empty during the session of the House.

“ The administration of Madison, notwithstanding the gloomy prediction of the federalist barber, restored some of the earlier customs. It had been hinted that a carriage was more necessary to him than to the widower Jefferson. Assisted by his beautiful and accomplished wife, he resumed the presidential levees ; and many society people regretted that the elevated dais was not restored, to aid in setting off the small stature of Mr. Madison.

“The limits of this article will not allow me to notice the changes of manners and methods in Congress since the administration of the elder Adams. Such a review would bring before us many striking characters and many stirring scenes. We should find the rage of party spirit pursuing Washington to his voluntary retreat at Mount Vernon at the close of his term, and denouncing him as the corrupt and wicked destroyer of his country. We should find the same spirit publicly denouncing a chief-justice of the United States as a ‘driveller and a fool,’ and impeaching, at the bar of the Senate, an eminent associate justice of the supreme court for having manfully and courageously discharged the high duties of his office in defiance of the party passions of the hour. We should see the pure and patriotic Oliver Wolcott, the secretary of the treasury, falsely charged, by a committee of Congress, with corruption in office and with the monstrous crime of having set on fire the public buildings for the purpose of destroying the evidences of his guilt. We should see the two houses in joint session witnessing the opening of the returns of the electoral colleges and the declaration of a tie vote between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr; and then, in the midst of the fiercest excitement, we should see the House of Representatives in continuous session for eight days, several members in the last stages of illness being brought in on beds and attended by their wives, while the ballotings went on which resulted in Jefferson’s election. And we should witness a similar scene, twenty-four years later, when the election of the younger Adams by the House, avenged in part the wrong of his father.

“In the long line of those who have occupied seats in Congress, we should see, here and there, rising above the undistinguished mass, the figures of those great men whose lives and labors have made their country illustrious, and whose influence upon its destiny will be felt for ages to come. We should see that group of great statesmen whom the last war with England brought to public notice, among whom were Ames and Randolph, Clay and Webster, Calhoun and Benton, Wright and Prentiss, making their era famous by their statesmanship, and creating and destroying political parties by their fierce antagonisms. We should see the folly and barbarism of the so-called code of honor destroying noblemen in the fatal meadow of Bladensburg. We should see the spirit of liberty awaking the conscience of the nation to the sin and danger of slavery, whose advocates had inherited and kept alive the old anarchic spirit of disunion. We should trace the progress of that great struggle from the days when John Quincy Adams stood in the House of Representatives, like a lion at bay, defending the sacred right of petition; when, after his death, Joshua R. Giddings continued the good fight, standing at this post for twenty years, his white locks, like the plume of Henry of Navarre, always showing where the battle for freedom raged most fiercely; when his small band in Congress, re-enforced by Hale and Sumner, Wade and Chase, Lovejoy and Stevens, continued the struggle amid the most turbulent scenes; when daggers were brandished and pistols were drawn in the halls of Congress; and later, when, one by one, the senators and representatives of eleven States, breathing defiance and uttering maledic-

tions upon the Union, resigned their seats and left the Capitol to take up arms against their country. We should see the Congress of a people long unused to war, when confronted by a supreme danger, raising, equipping, and supporting an army greater than all the armies of Napoleon and Wellington combined; meeting the most difficult questions of international and constitutional law; and, by new forms of taxation, raising a revenue which, in one year of the war, amounted to more than all the national taxes collected during the first half century of the government. We should see them so amending the constitution as to strengthen the safeguards of the Union and insure universal liberty and universal suffrage, and restoring to their places in the Union the eleven States whose governments, founded on secession, fell into instant ruin when the Rebellion collapsed; and we should see them, even when the danger of destruction seemed greatest, voting the largest sum of money ever appropriated by one act, to unite the East and the West, the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, by a material bond of social, commercial, and political union.

“In this review we should see courage and cowardice, patriotism and selfishness, far-sighted wisdom and short-sighted folly, joining in a struggle always desperate and sometimes doubtful; and yet, out of all this turmoil and fierce strife we should see the Union slowly but surely rising, with greater strength and brighter lustre, to a higher place among the nations.

“Congress has always been and must always be the theatre of contending opinions; the forum where the opposing forces of political philosophy meet to measure their

strength; where the public good must meet the assaults of local and sectional interests; in a word, the appointed place where the nation seeks to utter its thought and register its will.

CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE.

“This brings me to consider the present relations of Congress to the other great departments of the government, and to the people. The limits of this article will permit no more than a glance at a few principal heads of inquiry.

“In the main, the balance of powers so admirably adjusted and distributed among the three great departments of the government have been safely preserved. It was the purpose of our fathers to lodge absolute power nowhere; to leave each department independent within its own sphere; yet, in every case, responsible for the exercise of its discretion. But some dangerous innovations have been made.

“And first, the appointing power of the President has been seriously encroached upon by Congress, or rather by the members of Congress. Curiously enough, this encroachment originated in the act of the chief executive himself. The fierce popular hatred of the federal party, which resulted in the elevation of Jefferson to the presidency, led that officer to set the first example of removing men from office on account of political opinions. For political causes alone he removed a considerable number of officers who had recently been appointed by President Adams, and thus set the pernicious example. His immediate successors made only a few removals for political

reasons. But Jackson made his political opponents who were in office feel the full weight of his executive hand. From that time forward the civil offices of the government became the prizes for which political parties strove; and, twenty-five years ago, the corrupting doctrine that 'to the victors belong the spoils' was shamelessly announced as an article of political faith and practice. It is hardly possible to state with adequate force the noxious influence of this doctrine. It was bad enough when the federal officers numbered no more than eight or ten thousand; but now, when the growth of the country and the great increase in the number of public offices occasioned by the late war, have swelled the civil list to more than eighty thousand, and to the ordinary motives for political strife this vast patronage is offered as a reward to the victorious party, the magnitude of the evil can hardly be measured. The public mind has, by degrees, drifted into an acceptance of this doctrine; and thus an election has become a fierce, selfish struggle between the 'ins' and the 'outs,' the one striving to keep and the other to gain the prize of office. It is not possible for any president to select, with any degree of intelligence, so vast an army of office-holders without the aid of men who are acquainted with the people of the various sections of the country. And thus it has become the habit of presidents to make most of their appointments on the recommendation of members of Congress. During the last twenty-five years, it has been understood, by the Congress and the people, that offices are to be obtained by the aid of senators and representatives, who thus become the dispensers, sometimes the brokers of patronage.

The members of State legislatures who choose a senator, and the district electors who choose a representative, look to the man of their choice for appointments to office. Thus, from the President downward, through all the grades of official authority, to the electors themselves, civil office becomes a vast corrupting power, to be used in running the machine of party politics.

“ This evil has been greatly aggravated by the passage of the Tenure of Office Act, of 1867, whose object was to restrain President Johnson from making removals for political cause. But it has virtually resulted in the usurpation, by the Senate, of a large share of the appointing power. The President can remove no officer without the consent of the Senate; and such consent is not often given, unless the appointment of the successor nominated to fill the proposed vacancy is agreeable to the senator in whose State the appointee resides. Thus, it has happened that a policy, inaugurated by an early president, has resulted in seriously crippling the just powers of the executive, and has placed in the hands of senators and representatives a power most corrupting and dangerous.

“ Not the least serious evil resulting from this invasion of the executive functions by members of Congress is the fact that it greatly impairs their own usefulness as legislators. One-third of the working hours of senators and representatives is hardly sufficient to meet the demands made upon them in reference to appointments to office. The spirit of that clause of the constitution which shields them from arrest ‘ during their attendance on the session of their respective houses, and in going to and

from the same,' should also shield them from being arrested from their legislative work, morning, noon, and night, by office-seekers. To sum up in a word: the present system invades the independence of the executive, and makes him less responsible for the character of his appointments; it impairs the efficiency of the legislator by diverting him from his proper sphere of duty and involving him in the intrigues of aspirants for office; it degrades the civil service itself by destroying the personal independence of those who are appointed; it repels from the service those high and manly qualities which are so necessary to a pure and efficient administration; and finally, it debauches the public mind by holding up public office as the reward of mere party zeal.

"To reform this service is one of the highest and most imperative duties of statesmanship. This reform cannot be accomplished without a complete divorce between Congress and the executive in the matter of appointments. It will be a proud day when an administration senator or representative, who is in good standing in his party, can say as Thomas Hughes said, during his recent visit to this country, that though he was on the most intimate terms with the members of his own administration, yet it was not in his power to secure the removal of the humblest clerk in the civil service of his government.

"This is not the occasion to discuss the recent enlargement of the jurisdiction of Congress in reference to the election of a president and vice-president by the States. But it cannot be denied that the electoral bill has spread a wide and dangerous field for congressional action. Unless the boundaries of its power shall be re-

stricted by a new amendment of the constitution, we have seen the last of our elections of president on the old plan. The power to decide who has been elected may be so used as to exceed the power of electing.

“I have long believed that the official relations between the executive and Congress should be more open and direct. They are now conducted by correspondence with the presiding officers of the two houses, by consultation with committees, or by private interviews with individual members. This frequently leads to misunderstandings, and may lead to corrupt combinations. It would be far better for both departments if the members of the cabinet were permitted to sit in Congress and participate in the debates on measures relating to their several departments—but, of course, without a vote. This would tend to secure the ablest men for the chief executive offices; it would bring the policy of the administration into the fullest publicity by giving both parties ample opportunity for criticism and defence.

CONGRESS OVERBURDENED.

“As a result of the great growth of the country and of the new legislation arising from the late war, Congress is greatly overloaded with work. It is safe to say that the business which now annually claims the attention of Congress is tenfold more complex and burdensome than it was forty years ago. For example: the twelve annual appropriation bills, with their numerous details, now consume two-thirds of each short session of the House. Forty years ago, when the appropriations were made more in block, one week was sufficient for the work. The vast

extent of our country, the increasing number of States and Territories, the legislation necessary to regulate our mineral lands, to manage our complex systems of internal revenue, banking, currency, and expenditure, have so increased the work of Congress that no one man can ever read the bills and the official reports relating to current legislation; much less can he qualify himself for intelligent action upon them. As a necessary consequence, the real work of legislation is done by the committees; and their work must be accepted or rejected without full knowledge of its merits. This fact alone renders leadership in Congress, in the old sense of the word, impossible. For many years we have had the leadership of committees and chairmen of committees; but no one man can any more be the leader of all the legislation of the Senate or of the House, than one lawyer or one physician can now be foremost in all the departments of law or medicine. The evils of loose legislation resulting from this situation must increase rather than diminish, until a remedy is provided.

“John Stuart Mill held that a numerous popular assembly is radically unfit to *make good laws*, but is the best possible means of *getting good laws made*. He suggested, as a permanent part of the constitution of a free country, a legislative commission, composed of a few trained men, to draft such laws as the legislature, by general resolutions, shall direct, which draft shall be adopted by the legislature, without change, or returned to the commission to be amended.*

“Whatever may be thought of Mr. Mill’s suggestion,

* Mill’s Autobiography, pp. 26-45.

it is clear that some plan must be adopted to relieve Congress from the infinite details of legislation, and to preserve harmony and coherence in our laws.

“Another change observable in Congress, as well as in the legislatures of other countries, is the decline of oratory. The press is rendering the orator obsolete. Statistics now furnish the materials upon which the legislator depends; and a column of figures will often demolish a dozen pages of eloquent rhetoric.

“Just now, too, the day of sentimental politics is passing away, and the work of Congress is more nearly allied to the business interests of the country and to ‘the dismal science,’ as political economy is called by the ‘practical men’ of our time.

CONGRESS AND THE PEOPLE.

“The legislation of Congress comes much nearer to the daily life of the people than ever before. Twenty years ago, the presence of the national government was not felt by one citizen in a hundred. Except in paying his postage and receiving his mail, the citizen of the interior rarely came in contact with the national authority. Now, he meets it in a thousand ways. Formerly the legislation of Congress referred chiefly to our foreign relations, to indirect taxes, to the government of the army, the navy, and the Territories. Now a vote in Congress may, any day, seriously derange the business affairs of every citizen.

“And this leads me to say, that now, more than ever before, the people are responsible for the character of their Congress. If that body be ignorant, reckless, and

corrupt, it is because the people tolerate ignorance, recklessness, and corruption. If it be intelligent, brave, and pure, it is because the people demand those high qualities to represent them in the national legislature. Congress lives in the blaze of 'that fierce light which beats against the throne.' The telegraph and the press will to-morrow morning announce at a million breakfast tables what has been said and done in Congress to-day. Now, as always, Congress represents the prevailing opinions and political aspirations of the people. The wildest delusions of paper money, the crudest theories of taxation, the passions and prejudices that find expression in the Senate and House, were first believed and discussed at the firesides of the people, on the corners of the streets, and in the caucuses and conventions of political parties.

"The most alarming feature of our situation is the fact that so many citizens of high character and solid judgment pay but little attention to the sources of political power, to the selection of those who shall make their laws. The clergy, the faculties of colleges, and many of the leading business men of the community, never attend the township caucus, the city primaries, or the county convention; but they allow the less intelligent and the more selfish and corrupt members of the community to make the slates and 'run the machine' of politics. They wait until the machine has done its work, and then, in surprise, and horror at the ignorance and corruption in public office, sigh for the return of that mythical period called the 'better and purer days of the republic.' It is precisely this neglect of the first steps in our political processes that has made possible the

worst evils of our system. Corrupt and incompetent presidents, judges, and legislators can be removed, but when the fountains of political power are corrupted, when voters themselves become venial and elections fraudulent, there is no remedy except by awakening the public conscience, and bringing to bear upon the subject the power of public opinion and the penalties of the law. The practice of buying and selling votes at our popular elections has already gained a foothold, though it has not gone as far as in England.

“It is mentioned in the recent biography of Lord Macaulay, as a boast, that his three elections to the House of Commons cost him but ten thousand dollars. A hundred years ago, bribery of electors was far more prevalent and shameless in England than it now is.

“There have always been, and always will be, bad men in all human pursuits. There was a Judas in the college of the Apostles, an Arnold in the army of the Revolution, a Burr in our early politics; and they have had successors in all departments of modern life. But it is demonstrable, as a matter of history, that on the whole the standard of public and private morals is higher in the United States at the present time than ever before; that men in public and private stations are held to a more rigid accountability, and that the average moral tone of Congress is higher to-day than at any previous period of our history.* It is certainly true that

* On this point I beg to refer the reader to a speech delivered by Hon. George F. Hoar, in the House of Representatives, August 9, 1876, in which that distinguished gentleman said: “I believe there is absolutely less of corruption, less of maladministration, and less of vice and evil in public life than there was in the sixteen years which covered the administration of

our late war disturbed the established order of society, awakened a reckless spirit of adventure and speculation, and greatly multiplied the opportunities and increased the temptations to evil. The disorganization of the Southern States and the temporary disfranchisement of its leading citizens threw a portion of their representation in Congress, for a short time, into the hands of political adventurers, many of whom used their brief hold on power for personal ends, and thus brought disgrace upon the national legislature. And it is also true that the enlarged sphere of legislation so mingled public duties and private interests, that it was not easy to draw the line between them. From that cause, also, the reputation, and in some cases the character, of public men suffered eclipse. But the earnestness and vigor with which wrong-doing is everywhere punished is a strong guaranty of the purity of those who may hold posts of authority and honor. Indeed, there is now danger in the opposite direction, namely, that criticism may degenerate into mere slander, and put an end to its power for good by being used as the means to assassinate the reputation and destroy the usefulness of honorable men. It is as much the duty of all good men to protect and defend the reputation of worthy public servants as to detect and punish public rascals.

“ In a word, our national safety demands that the fountains of political power shall be made pure by intelligence, and kept pure by vigilance ; that the best citi-

Washington, the administration of John Adams, and the first term of Jefferson.” This assertion is maintained by numerous citations of unquestioned facts in the speech.

zens shall take heed to the selection and election of the worthiest and most intelligent among them to hold seats in the national legislature ; and that when the choice has been made, the continuance of their representative shall depend upon his faithfulness, his ability, and his willingness to work.

CONGRESS AND CULTURE.

“In Congress, as everywhere else, careful study—thorough, earnest work—is the only sure passport to usefulness and distinction. From its first meeting in 1774 to its last in 1788, three hundred and fifty-four men sat in the Continental Congress. Of these, one hundred and eighteen—one third of the whole number—were college graduates. That third embraced much the largest number of those whose names have come down to us as the great founders of the republic. Since the adoption of the constitution of 1787, six thousand two hundred and eighteen men have held seats in Congress ; and among them all, thorough culture and earnest, arduous work have been the leading characteristics of those whose service has been most useful and whose fame has been most enduring. Galloway wrote of Samuel Adams : ‘He drinks little, eats temperately, thinks much, and is most indefatigable in the pursuit of his objects.’ This description can still be fittingly applied to all men who deserve and achieve success anywhere, but especially in public life. As a recent writer has said, in discussing the effect of Prussian culture, so we may say of culture in Congress : ‘The lesson is, that whether you want him for war or peace, there is no way

in which you can get so much out of a man as by training, not in pieces, but the whole of him; and that the trained men, other things being equal, are pretty sure, in the long run, to be masters of the world.'

"Congress must always be the exponent of the political character and culture of the people; and if the next centennial does not find us a great nation, with a great and worthy Congress, it will be because those who represent the enterprise, the culture, and the morality of the nation, do not aid in controlling the political forces which are employed to select the men who shall occupy the great places of trust and power."

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S CONGRESSIONAL CAREER.

The Wade-Davis Manifesto—General Garfield before the Convention—Moral Courage wins the Day—Triumphant Nomination and Election of General Garfield—Is appointed a Member of the Committee of Ways and Means—Speech on the Constitutional Amendment—A Grand Denunciation of Slavery—Speech on the Reconstruction of the Southern States—Speech on Confiscation—A Reminiscence of the War—Gradual Rise of the Negro—How Garfield refused to surrender a Fugitive Slave—Speech on State Sovereignty—General Garfield as a Temperance Worker—How he shut up a Beer Brewery—A Good Speculation—General Garfield's Tariff Record—Views of the Iron and Steel Bulletin—General Garfield's Course Satisfactory—To the Protectionists—His Real Position on this Question—Re-election of General Garfield to Congress—Is made Chairman of the Military Committee—Successive re-elections to Congress—Is made Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations—Debate on the Civil Appropriation Bill of 1872—General Garfield's mode of conducting Public Business—The Salary Grab—General Garfield's Course respecting it—Letter to a Friend—Garfield successfully Vindicates his Course—A Silly Rumor Refuted—General Garfield urges the Repeal of the Salary Bill.

WHEN the time for holding the Congressional Convention of General Garfield's district arrived in 1864, his political enemies spread the report through the district that he had written the famous Wade-Davis manifesto against President Lincoln, or was at least thoroughly in sympathy with it. This manifesto had created the most intense excitement throughout the West, and especially in the

Western Reserve, where Mr. Lincoln was universally beloved, and where any attempt to criticise his course was resented by the sturdy Republican phalanx as almost equal to disloyalty. The consequence was that General Garfield was summoned by a committee to appear before the Convention and explain himself. It seemed to him a square challenge to his independence, and he resolved to meet it manfully. He went to the Convention, was given a seat on the platform, and was called upon by the chairman for a statement as to his connection with the obnoxious letter. He made a speech which he supposed could have no other effect than to dig his political grave. He had not written the Wade-Davis letter, he said, but he had only one regret connected with it, and that was that there was a necessity for its appearance. He approved the letter, defended the motives of its authors, asserted his right to independence of thought and action, and told the delegates that if they did not want a free agent for their representative, they had better find another man, for he did not desire to serve them any longer. After he had finished speaking, he left the platform and strode out of the hall. When he reached the foot of the stairs he heard a great tumult above, which he imagined was the signal of his unanimous rejection. On the contrary, it was the sound of his nomination by acclamation. No sooner had he left than an Ashtabula delegate rose and said that he thought the Convention could not do better than to renominate by acclamation a man of such independence and courage as General Garfield had just shown himself to be. His motion was carried with a hurrah before the delegates opposed to Garfield had time to open their mouths. Gov-

ernor Todd said, after the meeting dispersed, that a district that would allow a young fellow like Garfield to tweak its nose and cuff its ears in that manner deserved to have him saddled on it for the rest of his life. And it came near being the case.

The election came off in the fall of 1864, and General Garfield was returned by a majority of nearly 12,000 votes. His return to the House was a matter of general rejoicing to the Republicans in Congress, and so highly was he esteemed that he was appointed a member of the Committee of Ways and Means. This was done at the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, who had spoken of him as one of the best informed men on financial matters to be found in public life. The Committee of Ways and Means is the most important in the House. It is charged with the consideration and preparation of all the financial measures of Congress, and provides the means of raising the revenue. Consequently its members are chosen by the Speaker with the greatest care, and are selected from the ablest members of the House. General Garfield gave himself up to a profound study of financial matters, and soon made it apparent to all that the praise of the Secretary of the Treasury was neither rashly bestowed nor undeserved.

General Garfield continued an active and leading debater in Congress, and fully maintained the reputation he had made during his first years in that body. He spoke frequently and eloquently. He supported the constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery everywhere within the limits of the United States, and in the course of his remarks said :

“Mr. Speaker:—We shall never know why slavery dies so hard in this Republic and in this hall till we know why sin is long-lived and Satan is immortal. With marvellous tenacity of existence, it has outlived the expectations of its friends and the hopes of its enemies. It has been declared here and elsewhere to be in the several stages of mortality—wounded, moribund, dead. The question was raised by my colleague (Mr. Cox) yesterday whether it was indeed dead, or only in a troubled sleep. I know of no better illustration of its condition than is found in Sallust’s admirable history of the great conspirator, Cataline, who, when his final battle was fought and lost, his army broken and scattered, was found far in advance of his own troops, lying among the dead enemies of Rome, yet breathing a little, but exhibiting in his countenance all the ferocity of spirit which had characterized his life. So, sir, this body of slavery lies before us among the dead enemies of the Republic, mortally wounded, impotent in its fiendish wickedness, but with its old ferocity of look, bearing the unmistakable marks of its infernal origin.

“Who does not remember that thirty years ago—a short period in the life of a nation—but little could be said with impunity in these halls on the subject of slavery? How well do gentlemen here remember the history of that distinguished predecessor of mine, Joshua R. Giddings, lately gone to his rest, who, with his forlorn hope of faithful men, took his life in his hand, and in the name of justice protested against the great crime, and who stood bravely in his place until his white locks,

like the plume of Henry of Navarre, marked where the battle for freedom raged fiercest !

“ We can hardly realize that this is the same people and these the same halls, where now scarcely a man can be found who will venture to do more than falter out an apology for slavery, protesting in the same breath that he has no love for the dying tyrant. None, I believe, but that man of more than supernal boldness, from the city of New York (Mr. Fernando Wood), has ventured, this session, to raise his voice in favor of slavery for its own sake. He still sees in its features the reflection of beauty and divinity, and only he. ‘ How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning ! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations ! ’ Many mighty men have been slain by thee ; many proud ones have humbled themselves at thy feet ! All along the coast of our political sea these victims of slavery lie like stranded wrecks, broken on the headlands of freedom. How lately did its advocates, with impious boldness, maintain it as God’s own, to be venerated and cherished as divine. It was another and higher form of civilization. It was the holy evangel of America dispensing its mercies to a benighted race, and destined to bear countless blessings to the wilderness of the West. In its mad arrogance it lifted its hand to strike down the fabric of the Union, and since that fatal day it has been a ‘ fugitive and a vagabond upon the earth. ’ Like the spirit that Jesus cast out, it has, since then, ‘ been seeking rest and finding none. ’

“ It has sought in all the corners of the Republic to

find some hiding-place in which to shelter itself from the death it so richly deserves.

“It sought an asylum in the untrodden territories of the West; but, with a whip of scorpions, indignant freeman drove it thence. I do not believe that a loyal man can now be found who would consent that it should again enter them. It has no hopes of harbor there. It found no protection of favor in the hearts or consciences of the freemen of the Republic, and has fled for its last hope of safety behind the shield of the constitution. We propose to follow it there, and drive it thence as Satan was exiled from heaven.”

During the same session the question of the reconstruction of the Southern States and the proper treatment of the negroes was debated. General Garfield spoke earnestly on the subject, and on one occasion said:

“We should do nothing inconsistent with the spirit and genius of our institutions. We should do nothing for revenge, but everything for security; nothing for the past, everything for the present and the future. Indemnity for the past we can never obtain. The four hundred thousand graves in which sleep our fathers and brothers, murdered by rebellion, will keep their sacred trust till the angel of the resurrection bids the dead come forth. The tears, the sorrow, the unutterable anguish of broken hearts can never be atoned for. We turn from that sad but glorious past, and demand such securities for the future as can never be destroyed.

“We must recognize in all our action the stupendous facts of the war. In the very crisis of our fate, God brought us face to face with the alarming truth that we

must lose our own freedom or grant it to the slave. In the extremity of our distress we called upon the black man to help us save the Republic, and amid the very thunder of battle we made a covenant with him, sealed both with his blood and ours, and witnessed by Jehovah, that when the nation was redeemed he should be free and share with us the glories and blessing of freedom. In the solemn words of the great Proclamation of Emancipation, we not only declared the slaves forever free, but we pledged the faith of the nation 'to maintain their freedom'—mark the words, '*to maintain their freedom.*' The Omniscient witness will appear in judgment against us if we do not fulfil that covenant. Have we done it? Have we given freedom to the black man? What is freedom? Is it a mere negation; the bare privilege of not being chained, bought and sold, branded and scourged? If this be all, then freedom is a bitter mockery, a cruel delusion, and it may well be questioned whether slavery were not better.

"But liberty is no negation. It is a substantive, tangible reality. It is the realization of those imperishable truths of the Declaration 'that all men are created equal,' that the sanction of all just government is 'the consent of the governed.' Can these truths be realized until each man has a right to be heard on all matters relating to himself? . . . We have passed the Red Sea of slaughter; our garments are yet wet with its crimson spray. We have crossed the fearful wilderness of war, and have left our four hundred thousand heroes to sleep beside the dead enemies of the Republic. We have heard the voice of God, amid the thunders of battle,

commanding us to wash our hands of iniquity, to 'proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.' When we spurned his counsels we were defeated, and the gulfs of ruin yawned before us. When we obeyed his voice, he gave us victory. And now, at last, we have reached the confines of the wilderness. Before us is the land of promise, the land of hope, the land of peace, filled with possibilities of greatness and glory too vast for the grasp of the imagination. Are we worthy to enter it? On what condition may it be ours to enjoy and transmit to our children's children? Let us pause and make deliberate and solemn preparation.

"Let us as representatives of the people, whose servants we are, bear in advance the sacred ark of republican liberty, with its tables of the law inscribed with the irreversible guarantees of liberty. Let us here build a monument, on which shall be written not only the curses of the law against treason, disloyalty, and oppression, but also an everlasting covenant of peace and blessing with loyalty, liberty, and obedience, and all the people will say Amen!"

When the subject of confiscation was brought up, General Garfield spoke at length upon it, and in the course of his remarks, related this leaf from his army experience:

"I would have no man there, like one from my own State, who came to the army before the great struggle in Georgia, and gave us his views of peace. He came as the friend of Vallandigham, the man for whom the gentleman on the other side of the House from my State worked and voted. We were on the eve of a great battle, I said to

him, 'You wish to make Mr. Vallandigham governor of Ohio. Why?' 'Because, in the first place,' using the language of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Fernando Wood), 'you cannot subjugate the South, and we propose to withdraw without trying it longer. In the next place, we will have nothing to do with this abolition war, nor will we give a man or a dollar for its support,' (Remember, gentlemen, what occurred in regard to the conscription bill this morning). 'To-morrow,' I continued, 'we may be engaged in a death struggle with the rebel army that confronts us, and is daily increasing. Where is the sympathy of your party? Do you want us beaten, or Bragg beaten?' He answered that they had no interest in fighting; that they did not believe in fighting.

"Mr. Noble.—A question right here.

"Mr. Garfield.—I cannot yield; I have no time. You can hear his name, if you wish. He was the agent sent by the copperhead secretary of state to distribute election blanks to the army of the Cumberland. His name was Griffiths.

"Mr. Noble.—A single question.

"Mr. Garfield.—I have no time to spare.

"Mr. Noble.—I want to ask the gentleman if he knows that Mr. Griffiths has made a question of veracity with him by a positive denial of the alleged conversation, published in the Cincinnati *Enquirer*.

"Mr. Garfield.—No virtuous denials in the Cincinnati *Enquirer* can alter the facts of this conversation, which was heard by a dozen officers.

"I asked him further, 'How would it affect your

party if we should crush the rebels in this battle and utterly destroy them?' 'We would probably lose votes by it.' 'How would it affect your party if we should be beaten?' 'It would probably help us in votes.'

"That, gentlemen, is the kind of support the army is receiving in what should be the house of its friends. That, gentlemen, is the kind of support these men are inclined to give this country and its army in this terrible struggle. I hasten to make honorable exceptions. I know there are honorable gentlemen on the other side who do not belong to that category, and I am proud to acknowledge them as my friends. I am sure they do not sympathize with these efforts, whose tendency is to pull down the fabric of our government, by aiding their friends over the border to do it. *Their friends*, I say, for when the Ohio election was about coming off, in the army at Chattanooga, there was more anxiety in the rebel camp than in our own. The pickets had talked face to face, and made daily inquiries how the election in Ohio was going. And at midnight of the 13th of October, when the telegraphic news was flashed down to us, and it was announced to the army that the Union had sixty thousand majority in Ohio, there arose a shout from every tent along the line on that rainy midnight, which rent the skies with jubilees, and sent despair to the hearts of those who were 'waiting and watching across the border.' It told them that their colleagues, their sympathizers, their friends, I had almost said their emissaries at the North, had failed to sustain themselves in turning the tide against the Union and its army. And from that hour, but not till that hour, the army felt safe from the enemy behind it.

“Thanks to the 13th of October. It told thirteen of my colleagues that they had no constituencies.”

General Garfield was an earnest advocate of the policy of providing for the negroes by the Government. He favored a wise and careful guardianship until they were able to care for themselves. In one of his speeches he said :

“I cannot forget that less than five years ago I received an order from my superior officer in the army, commanding me to search my camp for a fugitive slave, and, if found, to deliver him up to a Kentucky captain, who claimed him as his property ; and I had the honor to be, perhaps, the first officer in the army who peremptorily refused to obey such an order. We were then trying to save the Union without hurting slavery. I remember, sir, that when we undertook to agitate in the army the question of putting arms into the hands of the slaves, it was said, ‘Such a step will be fatal ; it will alienate half our army, and lose us Kentucky.’ By and by, when our necessities were imperious, we ventured to let the negroes dig in our trenches, but it would not do to put muskets in their hands. We ventured to let a negro drive a mule team, but it would not do to have a white man or a mulatto just in front of him or behind him ; all must be negroes in that train ; you must not disgrace a white soldier by putting him in such company. ‘By and by,’ some one said, ‘Rebel guerillas may capture the mules ; so, for the sake of the mules, let us put a few muskets in the wagons and let the negroes shoot the guerillas if they come.’ So, for the sake of the mules we enlarged the limits of liberty a little. [Laughter.] By and by we al-

lowed the negroes to build fortifications, and armed them to save the earthworks they had made—not to do justice to the negro, but to protect the earth he had thrown up. By and by we said in this hall that we would arm the negroes, but they must not be called soldiers, nor wear the national uniform, for that would degrade white soldiers. By and by we said, ‘Let them wear the uniform, but they must not receive the pay of soldiers.’ For six months we did not pay them enough to feed and clothe them; and their shattered regiments came home from South Carolina in debt to the Government for the clothes they wore. It took us two years to reach a point where we were willing to do the most meager justice to the black man, and to recognize the truth that,

‘A man’s a man for a’ that.’”

The incident to which General Garfield referred in the first part of the above remarks is related as follows by an officer of General Sherman’s staff:

“One day I noticed a fugitive slave come rushing into camp with a bloody head, and apparently frightened almost to death. He had only passed my tent a moment when a regular bully of a fellow came riding up; and, with a volley of oaths, began to ask after his ‘nigger.’”

“General Garfield was not present, and he passed on to the division commander. This division commander was a sympathizer with the theory that fugitives should be returned to their masters, and that the Union soldiers should be made the instruments for returning them. He accordingly wrote a mandatory order to General Garfield, in whose command the darky was supposed to be

hiding, telling him to hunt out and deliver over the property of the outraged citizen.

“ I stated the case as fully as I could to General Garfield before handing him the order, but did not color my statement in any way. He took the order, and deliberately wrote on it the following indorsement :

“ ‘ I respectfully, but positively, decline to allow my command to search for, or deliver up, any fugitive slaves. I conceive that they are here for quite another purpose. The command is open, and no obstacles will be placed in the way of the search.’ ”

“ I read the indorsement, and was frightened. I expected that, if returned, the result would be that the general would be court-martialled. I told him my fears. He simply replied :

“ ‘ The matter may as well be tested first as last. Right is right, and I do not propose to mince matters at all. My soldiers are here for far other purposes than hunting and returning fugitive slaves.’ ”

During the session a resolution was offered tendering the thanks of Congress to General George H. Thomas, for his conduct at the battle of Chickamauga, and reflecting, as General Garfield thought, unjustly upon his old chief, General Rosecrans. This brought Garfield to his feet, and in a brilliant and earnest speech he eulogized General Rosecrans, while at the same time he did full justice to General Thomas.

During the session it was proposed to grant the sanction of the Government of the United States to the construction of a new railway line between New York and Philadelphia. This was opposed on the ground that the

State of New Jersey had granted a monopoly of the railroad traffic across her limits between those points to the Camden and Amboy Railroad Company, and that the proposed action of Congress would be an unwarrantable interference with the sovereign authority of that State. Upon this subject General Garfield spoke with great eloquence, and his speech was generally regarded as one of the most convincing arguments against State sovereignty ever delivered in Congress. He said :

“ Mr. Coleridge somewhere says that abstract definitions have done more harm in the world than plague and famine and war. I believe it. I believe that no man will ever be able to chronicle all the evils that have resulted to this nation from the abuse of the words ‘sovereign’ and ‘sovereignty.’ What is this thing called ‘State sovereignty?’ Nothing more false was ever uttered in the halls of legislation than that any State of this Union is sovereign. Consult the elementary text-books of law, and refresh your recollection of the definition of ‘sovereignty.’ Speaking of the sovereignty of nations, Blackstone says :

“‘ However they began, by what right soever they subsist, there is and must be in all of them a supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority in which the *jura summi imperii* or rights of sovereignty reside.’

“ Do these elements belong to any State of this Republic? Sovereignty has the right to declare war. Can New Jersey declare war? It has the right to conclude peace. Can New Jersey conclude peace? Sovereignty has the right to coin money. If the Legislature of New Jersey should authorize and command one of its citizens

to coin a half-dollar, that man, if he made it, though it should be of solid silver, would be locked up in a felon's cell for the crime of counterfeiting the coin of the real sovereign. - A sovereign has the right to make treaties with foreign nations. Has New Jersey the right to make treaties? Sovereignty is clothed with the right to regulate commerce with foreign states. New Jersey has no such right. Sovereignty has the right to put ships in commission upon the high seas. Should a ship set sail under the authority of New Jersey it would be seized as a smuggler, forfeited and sold. Sovereignty has a flag. But, thank God, New Jersey has no flag; Ohio has no flag. No loyal State fights under the 'lone star,' the 'rattlesnake,' or the 'palmetto tree.' No loyal State of this Union has any flag but 'the banner of beauty and of glory,' the flag of the Union. These are the indispensable elements of sovereignty. New Jersey has not one of them. The term cannot be applied to the separate States, save in a very limited and restricted sense, referring mainly to municipal and police regulations. The rights of the States should be jealously guarded and defended. But to claim that sovereignty in its full sense and meaning belongs to the States is nothing better than rankest treason. Look again at this document of the Governor of New Jersey. He tells you that the STATES entered into the '*national compact!*' National compact! I had supposed that no governor of a loyal State would parade this dogma of nullification and secession which was killed and buried by Webster on the 16th of February, 1833.

“There was no such thing as a sovereign State mak-

ing a compact called a constitution. The very language of the Constitution is decisive: 'We, the people of the United States, do ordain and establish this Constitution.' The States did not make a compact to be broken when any one pleased, but the people *ordained* and *established* the Constitution of a sovereign Republic; and woe be to any corporation or State that raises its hand against the majesty and power of this great nation."

General Garfield is an active and ardent worker in the temperance cause. About this time he gave a practical evidence of his devotion to its principles, which is thus related by Mr. H. L. Baker. He states that it was told to him by a man who lived almost next door to General Garfield, in Painesville, Ohio, for ten years, and during that time the events spoken of occurred.

"It was in 1865 that the temperance people of Painesville were a good deal worked up over a beer brewery running full blast in their midst. They held meeting after meeting, and discussed all sorts of plans for getting rid of the obnoxious industry, but all to no avail as far as any practical outcome was concerned.

"During that time General Garfield returned home, and attended the next temperance meeting as an earnest, enthusiastic temperance man. The same old subject of the brewery came up. After listening a few minutes, the general rose up and said:

"Gentlemen, it is the easiest thing in the world to dispose of that brewery. I will agree to do it in one hour.'

"The announcement took them all by surprise, of course. Suppress in one hour the nuisance they had so

long bothered their heads over? Do in one hour what they failed to do in six months? It seemed impossible. But he soon showed them that he meant business.

“He went over to the brewery, and in less than an hour he had purchased the whole property and paid cash, some \$10,000, I believe. He destroyed all the manufactured liquor, and all the exclusive brewing machinery. What disposal to make of the property was now the question. It did not lie idle long, however.

“The next fall he converted the building and machinery into a large cider-mill, and made hundreds of barrels of cider. Not one drop of cider would he sell or give away, for he was too strict a temperance man to think it right to drink even cider; but every barrel of it he kept till it had become cider vinegar, and then sold it.

“The good people of the town were glad to learn that, after the property proved to be a good investment, and the general made it pay him well. After using the building four or five years he sold it to other parties, and moved upon his farm at Mentor, Lake County, Ohio.

“This is a small thing, to be sure; but it shows that General Garfield’s principles are not a dead letter, but are real, live matters, which he is ready to put into practice in his daily life.”

Throughout the reconstruction period and the quarrel between Congress and President Johnson, General Garfield warmly championed the cause of Congress against the President. He made a good record on the Committee of Ways and Means, and was in favor of a moderate protective tariff and a steady reduction of public expenditures and taxation.

Mr. Garfield's course with regard to a protective tariff is thus summed up by *The Iron and Steel Bulletin*, one of the leading protectionist journals of the United States :

“ General Garfield's tariff record having been made a subject of discussion since his nomination for the Presidency, it is both just and proper that we should state that the protectionists of the country, who have kept watch over tariff legislation during the past twenty years, and who have assisted to shape and maintain the present tariff, are perfectly satisfied with his tariff votes and speeches. They and all other protectionists have indeed abundant reason to be thankful to him for valuable assistance rendered to the cause of industry when it was in serious peril from free-trade attacks. His votes and speeches have been uniformly and consistently in favor of the protective policy. His first tariff speech in Congress was made in 1866. In this speech he carefully defined his position on the question of protection as follows :

“ I hold that a properly adjusted competition between home and foreign products is the best gauge by which to regulate international trade. Duties should be so high that our manufactures can fairly compete with the foreign product, but not so high as to enable them to drive out the foreign article, enjoy a monopoly of the trade, and regulate the price as they please. This is my doctrine of protection. If Congress pursues this line of policy steadily, we shall, year by year, approach more nearly to the basis of free trade, because we shall be more nearly able to compete with other nations on equal terms. I am for a protection that leads to ultimate free trade. I am for that

free trade which can only be achieved through a reasonable protection.'

"There was nothing in this declaration to which protectionists could fairly object. We are exporting many products of American workshops and factories to-day because protection has made their production and exportation possible. Great Britain was able to establish and maintain free trade only after centuries of the most vigorous protection of all her industries. This country is simply copying her wise example, and in the extract we have quoted, General Garfield distinctly declares his approval of it.

"In his next speech, delivered in 1870, upon General Schenck's tariff bill, which provoked a long and bitter controversy, General Garfield advised the protectionists of the House to assent to a moderate reduction of the war duties which were then in force, for the reason that they were higher than was necessary for the protection of our industries, and, being so, they gave occasion for unfriendly criticism of the protective policy, from which it should be relieved. He said :

"After studying the whole subject as carefully as I am able, I am firmly of the opinion that the wisest thing that the protectionists in this House can do, is to unite in a moderate reduction of duties on imported articles. He is not a faithful representative who merely votes for the highest rate proposed in order to show on the record that he voted for the highest figure, and therefore is a sound protectionist. He is the wisest man who sees the tides and currents of public opinion, and uses his best efforts to protect the industry of the people against sudden col-

lapses and sudden changes. Now, if I do not misunderstand the signs of the times, unless we do this ourselves, prudently and wisely, we shall before long be compelled to submit to a violent reduction, made rudely and without discrimination, which will shock, if not shatter, all our protected industries.

“‘The great want of industry is a stable policy; and it is a significant comment on the character of our legislation that Congress has become a terror to the business men of the country. This very day the great industries of the nation are standing still, half paralyzed at the uncertainty which hangs over our proceedings here. A distinguished citizen of my own district has lately written to me this significant sentence: ‘If the laws of God and nature were as vascillating and uncertain as the laws of Congress in regard to the business of its people, the universe would soon fall into chaos.’

“‘Examining thus the possibilities of the situation, I believe that the true course for the friends of protection to pursue is to reduce the rates on imports whenever we can justly and safely do so; and, accepting neither of the extreme doctrines urged on this floor, endeavor to establish a stable policy that will commend itself to all patriotic and thoughtful people.’

“General Schenck’s bill passed the House June 6, 1870, General Garfield voting for it in company with all the protectionists in that body. It passed the Senate during the same month, such leading protectionists as Senators Howe, Scott, Morrill, of Vermont, Sherman, and Wilson voting for it. The bill reduced the duties on a long list of articles—pig iron, for instance, from \$9 to

\$7—but it was a triumph of the protective policy, and a disastrous defeat of the free traders and revenue reformers, who had favored still lower duties. It embodied provisions that are retained in the existing tariff, with which all protectionists are entirely satisfied.

In 1872, two years after the passage of General Schenck's bill, a bill, to reduce duties on imports and to reduce internal taxes, was reported to the House of Representatives by Mr. Dawes, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and after discussion it passed by a large majority, such prominent protectionists as Dawes, Frye, Foster, Frank W. Palmer, Ellis H. Roberts, William A. Wheeler, and George F. Hoar voting for it. General Garfield voted for it. Judge Kelley and sixty other protectionists voted against it. It became a law, passing the Senate by a two-thirds vote, such leading protectionists as Ferry, Howe, the two Morrills, Morton, Sherman, and Wilson supporting it. Protectionists, as will be seen, were not united upon the merits of this bill, which, among other provisions, reduced the duty on many iron and steel products ten per cent., but there was no conflict of principle involved in their differences—nothing but a question of expediency.

In 1875, three years after the passage of the bill just referred to, Mr. Dawes, still chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, reported a bill to farther protect the sinking fund and to provide the exigencies of the Government, which provided among other things for the restoration of the ten per cent. which had been taken from the duties on iron and steel by the act of 1872. This bill passed the House by a close vote, General Garfield vot-

ing for it, as did nearly every protectionist in the House. The bill passed the Senate and became a law, the vote being very close—yeas thirty, nays twenty-nine. The protectionists in the Senate were almost unanimously in favor of it. Mr. Sherman made a strong speech against it, and Mr. Scott and Mr. Frelinghuysen very ably supported it. Mr. Sherman voted against it. The passage of this bill gave great encouragement to our prostrated iron and steel industries.

“The next tariff measure that came before Congress was the bill of Mr. Morrison, which was presented in the House in 1876, but was so vigorously opposed that it never reached the dignity of a square vote upon its merits. Two years afterwards Mr. Wood undertook the preparation of a tariff bill which greatly reduced duties on most articles of foreign manufacture, and which he confidently hoped might become a law. This bill possessed more vitality than that of Mr. Morrison, and it was with great difficulty that the friends of protection were able to secure its defeat. In the early as well as in the later stages of the struggle there was no uncertainty about the position of General Garfield; he was against the bill. On the 4th of June he delivered an elaborate speech against it in Committee of the Whole, in the course of which he said:

“‘I would have the duty so adjusted that every great American industry can fairly live and make fair profits. The chief charge I make against this bill is that it seeks to cripple the protective features of the law.’

“He further said, in concluding his speech:

“‘A bill so radical in its character, so dangerous to

our business prosperity, would work infinite mischief at this time, when the country is just recovering itself from a long period of depression and getting again upon solid ground, just coming up out of the wild sea of panic and distress which has tossed up so long.

““ Let it be remembered that twenty-two per cent. of all the laboring people of this country are artisans engaged in manufactures. Their culture has been fostered by our tariff laws. It is their pursuits and the skill which they have developed that produced the glory of our Centennial Exhibition. To them the country owes the splendor of the position it holds before the world more than to any other equal number of our citizens. If this bill becomes a law, it strikes down their occupation and throws into the keenest distress the brightest and best elements of our population.

““ When the first paragraph has been read, I will propose to strike out the enacting clause. If the committee will do that, we can kill the bill to-day.’

—“ On the day following the delivery of General Garfield’s speech, his suggestion to strike out the enacting clause was carried into effect, upon motion of Mr. Conger, and the bill was killed—yeas 134, nays 121. The majority against the bill was only 13.

“ During the recent session of Congress a vigorous effort was made to break down the tariff by piecemeal legislation. ‘Divide and conquer’ was the motto of the free traders. They were defeated in every effort to reduce duties, and in every instance they encountered General Garfield’s opposition. Iron and steel manufacturers have good cause to remember his vote in the

Ways and Means Committee last March, on the bill of Mr. Covert to reduce the duty on steel rails. General Garfield voted with Judge Kelley and Messrs. Conger, Frye, Felton, Gibson, and Phelps against any reduction, and that was the end of Mr. Covert's bill—the vote being seven against to six in favor of it. Had the bill prevailed, the entire line of duties on iron and steel and other manufactures would have been seriously endangered.

“Such is General Garfield's tariff record, and as we have already stated, it is entirely satisfactory to protectionists. He has been charged with being a member of the British free trade Cobden Club, but he has repeatedly declared over his own signature that the use of his name by the Cobden Club was wholly unauthorized by him, and that its free trade doctrines did not meet with his approval. If the club thought, by the conferring of an empty compliment, to entrap him into an expression of sympathy with its philosophy of selfishness and greed, it failed signally.

“General Garfield is a candidate for the Presidency. With that we have nothing to do. Our readers will vote for or against him as they please. But General Garfield has rendered great service to the cause of home industry during his public career, and we would have been untrue to ourselves and to every individual member of this association if we had not testified as we have done to the excellence and fulness of that service, now that his tariff record has been misrepresented. American iron and steel manufacturers have found him a wise friend in time of need, and we say so gratefully.”

In 1866 General Garfield was again a candidate for the House of Representatives. A few of his constituents living in the Mahoning Valley, an iron producing district, opposed his nomination on the ground that he did not favor as high a tariff on iron as they wanted. The Convention, however, was overwhelmingly on his side, and he was nominated with enthusiasm, and elected by a majority of 10,000 votes. At the meeting of Congress General Garfield was appointed by the Speaker of the House Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. In this position he rendered good service to the country and to his party. His committee was kept busy remodelling the regular army to suit the altered needs of the country, and looking after the demands of the discharged soldiers for pay and bounty, of which many had been deprived by the red tape decisions of the accounting officers of the Government.

In 1868 Gen. Garfield was opposed in the nominating convention of his district by Darius Caldwell, of Ash-tabula, who secured forty votes. General Garfield was, however, nominated by a handsome majority, and elected as usual by the people at the polls. He continued to serve on the Military Committee of the House, adding to his reputation and rendering good service to the country.

In 1870 General Garfield was again elected to Congress, this time without opposition. In 1872 a few blank ballots were cast in the convention, and the Liberal Republicans ran a candidate in opposition to him at the polls, but he was elected by his usual triumphant majority.

At the meeting of the forty-second Congress in 1871,

General Garfield was appointed by the Speaker, Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, and held this position until the elections of 1874 gave the Democrats control of the House. In this important position he largely reduced the expenditures of the Government, and thoroughly reformed the system of estimates and appropriations, providing for closer accountability on the part of those who spend the public money, and a clear knowledge, on the part of those who vote it, of what it is used for.

A fair idea of the manner in which General Garfield carried out the work of his committee may be gained from the following. The Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill for 1872 was passed by the House and sent to the Senate, where several amendments were tacked on to it. These amendments did not all meet the approval of General Garfield, and on the 8th of June, 1872, he rose in the House, as Chairman of the Appropriation Committee, and said :

“I ask the House to allow me to submit the proposition to non-concur in all the amendments of the Senate to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, and to accede to the request of the Senate for a Committee of Conference.”

Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, said : “I hope the suggestion of the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations (Mr. Garfield) will be accepted. By accepting it the minority will lose none of their privileges, for they will have the same right to make dilatory motions after the report of the Committee of Conference comes before the House that they now have.”

Mr. Beck, of Kentucky, said : “This side of the

House will, I have no doubt, vote unanimously for the bill as it came from the Senate, with the exception of the bayonet clause. If the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Garfield) will offer a substitute containing every proposition of the Senate except that, we will assent to it."

Mr. Garfield said, "If the 'bayonet clause,' as the gentleman terms it, were off, and all the other amendments of the Senate were retained, I should be compelled to vote against the bill, because there are appropriations to the amount of more than a million and a half of dollars which have been put on by the Senate, to which, as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, I can never consent. . . . I ask the gentlemen to allow me to take the sense of the House on my proposition."

The question was taken, and (two-thirds not voting in favor thereof) it was decided in the negative.

After some further debate, Mr. Garfield said: "I have sent a resolution to the desk, which I ask to be read."

The clerk then read as follows :

"*Resolved*, That the House non-concur in the amendments of the Senate to the House Bill No. 2705, being the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill, and agree to a conference thereon; and that upon the appointment of such committee, the House do take a recess until eight o'clock on Monday morning."

The question being put, the resolution was adopted.

The Chair announces the appointment of Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, Mr. Palmer, of Iowa, and Mr. Niblack of Indiana, as the conferees on the part of the House, on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill H. R. No. 2705.

On the 10th of June, Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, said: "I rise to make a privileged report."

The clerk read the report of the Committee of Conference on the Civil Sundry Appropriation Bill.

After some remarks by Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, in opposition to the report, Mr. Garfield said:

"On the merits of the amendment now in debate by itself considered, I will not now speak. No man on this floor regrets more than I do that the House was brought to a dead-lock on a question of this sort appended to a general appropriation bill. But there is another phase of the subject which rises altogether above that amendment or any other amendment that can be brought into this House. To discuss that greater question I must call the attention of members to the parliamentary history of this bill. It is one of the twelve great appropriation bills necessary for carrying on the Government. After being considered forty days in the Committee of Appropriations, after being elaborately debated in this House, it went to the Senate, and, after having there encountered storm and tempest of no ordinary character, it came back to the House with such amendments as the Senate saw fit to add. Again in the House, it was a bill in order under the rules of parliamentary law, for our rules do not allow us to rule as out of order an amendment added by the Senate. The bill, then, being in order, there were but five courses of action open to the Houses in the ordinary processes of legislation. The first was to refer it back to the Committee on Appropriations, to be considered and brought back subject to the order of the House. The second was, we might have referred it to the Committee of the Whole

on the state of the Union, where it would have been open to debate and amendment on every one of the ninety-three amendments, and then to be reported back to the House to await the further order of this body. A third course was, that we should proceed to consider it in open House under the five minutes' rule, subject to amendments and debate. A fourth plan was to non-concur in all the Senate amendments and send the bill to a committee of conference, to be again brought back into the House. There was a fifth plan, to concur in all the Senate amendments, and then send the bill to the President for his approval.

“ Now, there is no other ordinary course to be taken with an appropriation bill, and I call the attention of the House to the fact that I and my associates on the Committee on Appropriations tried again and again in the House each and all of these five ordinary courses of procedure, and again and again did the minority of this House refuse to allow the House to take either of these courses until late at night of Saturday, and after a twelve hours' session, and then only on condition that the non-concurrence and reference to a conference committee should be coupled with a recess which should bring us within four hours of the final adjournment of Congress. In other words, the minority have for days refused to allow the usual legislative processes to be employed in reference to a great and necessary public measure ; they have refused to allow it to be debated or considered except upon terms of their own dictation wholly beyond the ordinary range of parliamentary order.

“ Mr. Speaker, a question has, therefore, arisen, in its importance far above any item in this bill, and it is simply

this: shall the majority of the members of this House have the right to consider and act upon a great appropriation bill in the mode provided in the rules? The moment a minority, however large, deny that proposition, that moment we are in the midst of a parliamentary revolution, and legislation of any sort is impossible for evermore until that position be utterly abandoned. In saying this I do not fail to recognize the utmost right of the minority to make dilatory motions for any and all legitimate purposes. I recognize that right whenever the minority is being oppressed by any parliamentary proceeding. If, for instance, we should insist that a bill should be passed without being read, I would filibuster as long as any man here to prevent it, if it were a bill that I did not understand or approve.

“Mr. Eldredge, of Wisconsin, said: I want to ask a question on this particular point, as to what was said by him to gentlemen on this side of the House, and to me personally.

“Mr. Garfield.—When we went into the conference committee, we sat two hours on Saturday night, running our session into midnight.

“We met on Sunday, and sat eight hours continuously. At the end of six hours we had finished, to the satisfaction of the conferees, every other item of disagreement between the two Houses. When we reached the tenth amendment, the one in dispute, the Senate conferees informed us that they could make no report that did not treat of that subject in it; that the report must be one and a whole. The committee on the part of the House was then compelled to adopt one of two courses,

either at eight o'clock on Monday morning, four hours before the time fixed for final adjournment, bring back a report that they had made no progress whatever, that nothing was agreed to, nothing settled, thus making it wholly impossible to reach an adjustment before twelve o'clock, or to bring in a report concurring in something.

“After mature deliberation, we thought it to be our duty to bring in a report, and in order to do that we proposed a substitute to the Senate's tenth amendment. That substitute consists, in the main, of the enforcement bill sent to the House by the Senate a few weeks since; but there are two or three important modifications put on that at the suggestion of the House conferees.

“The amendment thus guarded is clearly within the provisions of the Constitution, which empower Congress to regulate the time, place, and manner of holding elections for the representatives in Congress. Now, the Committee of Conference having brought in a report under the rules, I do now insist, and shall continue to demand, that the bill before the House shall be acted on; and against all factions and revolutionary resistance I propose to stand, if need be, until December next, until this appropriation bill shall be considered, shall be voted on, voted up or voted down.

“And now, once for all, I say to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Eldredge), and to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Kelley), that I have said no word to them or to any man inconsistent with the declarations I have made in these remarks. I challenge any man to the proof, if he venture to join the issue.

“After some debate, Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania,

moved to recommit the report to the committee, and his motion was sustained by the House, by a vote of yeas 99, nays 79, 62 members not voting.

“ Subsequently, Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, said: Mr. Speaker, I desire to submit the following report from the the Committee of Conference.

“ The clerk read as follows:

“ The Committee of Conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments to the bill (H. R. No. 2705) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1873, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have been unable to agree.

JAMES A. GARFIELD,
FRANK W. PALMER,
WM. E. NIBLACK,

Managers on the part of the House.

CORNELIUS COLE,
GEO. F. EDMUNDS,
JOHN W. STEVENSON.

Managers on the part of the Senate.

“ Mr. Garfield, of Ohio.—The Senate originally asked for a committee of conference in reference to the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on this bill, and I suppose they will make known their wishes. I do not know but the House might hasten business by ordering a new conference. I move the appointment of a new Conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the bill; and on that motion I demand the previous question.

“ The motion of Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, was agreed to.

“The Speaker.—The chair appoints the same conferees as managers on the part of the House.

“Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, soon after submitted a privileged report, and said: In explanation of the report, I desire to state to the House that the main body of the report is the same as was presented before. Three important changes were made, in view of additional facts brought before the Conference Committee as to the amount of the sums appropriated. Beyond those three changes every word is the same, except what relates to the tenth amendment, the matter in contest between the two Houses.

“There are but three changes made in that tenth amendment. We strike out the words ‘this act or,’ in the fortieth line of the print which the gentlemen have before them. The second change is the forty-third line, where we strike out the words ‘he resides,’ and insert in lieu thereof the words ‘his duties are to be performed.’ The third, and the one of chief importance, is the addition of a proviso at the end of line sixty-two, in these words:

“‘*And provided further,* That the supervisors herein provided for shall have no power or authority to make arrests or to perform other duties than to be in the immediate presence of the officers holding the election, and to witness all their proceedings, including the counting of the votes, and the making of a return thereof.’

“The effect of this is that the supervisors authorized by this act stand by and witness the proceedings of the election, and have the official right to stand by;

so that if frauds are being perpetrated, the Government of the United States may have as witnesses a member of the Democratic party, and one of the Republican party, to the facts in the case.

“Mr. Eldredge.—I desire to ask the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations if the words ‘guarded and inspected’ are not retained in the bill.

“Mr. Garfield.—No, sir. It is provided that when ten citizens in any county or parish in any Congressional district shall apply to the judge of the district in which such county or parish is situated, ‘to have said registration or election both guarded and scrutinized.’

“Mr. Eldredge.—Yes, those are the words, ‘guarded and scrutinized.’

“Mr. Garfield.—The persons applying express their wish to have the elections guarded and scrutinized. But the powers of the persons appointed for that purpose are in terms restricted by the proviso I have read.

“Mr. Eldredge.—They are to guard and scrutinize the election.

“Mr. Garfield.—The gentleman is in error. The words ‘guarded and scrutinized’ apply only to the form of application made to the judge. But those words do not apply at all to the powers of the persons appointed. Their powers are defined and limited by the strong language of the proviso which I have just read. They are thus made mere witnesses of all the transactions of the election.

“Mr. Kerr, of Indiana, said: Before my colleague (Mr. Niblack) takes the floor, I want to ask a question, in order to remove any doubt upon the mind of any member

of the House. I desire to know of the Chairman of the Committee of Appropriations whether he understands that there is anything in the language of this amendment that touches the matter of qualifications of electors.

“ Mr. Garfield.—I understand, on the contrary, that there is nothing that can touch or change the qualifications of electors now provided by law.

“ Mr. Ritchie, of Maryland, said: In the State of Maryland the judges of the election have no discretion as to the qualifications of voters. They are controlled by the registration list; in fact, they are merely recording officers. Now, I ask the gentlemen what would be the relation of the supervisors contemplated by this amendment to our registration and elections?

“ Mr. Garfield.—That of simply standing by and seeing the work done, without any other power than to witness it from beginning to end.

“ Mr. Eldredge.—Gentlemen who have not surrendered their opposition on this question have not yet had an opportunity to speak. None of us have had that opportunity who feel that we cannot surrender our opposition as long as we have the power to resist this measure. I ask the gentleman to yield to me for two or three minutes.

“ Mr. Garfield.—Gentlemen all around me insist that I shall call the previous question. I cannot yield farther.

“ Mr. Holman, of Indiana, said: This is the most fatal measure ever brought into this Congress.

“ Mr. Haldeman, of Pennsylvania, said: We are not going to yield.

“ Mr. Eldredge.—It is an unconstitutional bill.

“ Mr. Holman.—It is most infamous in its character.

“ Mr. Garfield.—I now move that the rules be suspended, and that the House proceed to take an immediate vote, without dilatory motions, upon agreeing to the report of the Committee of Conference.

“ The question was put on the motion of Mr. Garfield to suspend the rules; and there were—yeas 122, nays 23.

“ So, two-thirds voting in favor thereof, the rules were suspended.

“ The Speaker.—The House has directed that it now vote by yeas and nays upon this question. Will the House agree to the report of the Committee of Conference on the disagreements of the Senate to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill?

“ The question was taken; and it was decided in the affirmative, as follows: yeas 102, nays 79; not voting, 59.

“ So the report of the Committee of Conference was agreed to.”

On the 24th of February, 1873, the Appropriation Bill being under consideration, Mr. Butler, of Massachusetts, offered an amendment increasing the salaries paid to the President and Vice-President of the United States, the heads of departments, and the members of Congress. This measure did not meet with Mr. Garfield's approval, and at the close of Mr. Butler's remarks, he said:

“ I desire to answer some of the points which have been made in support of this amendment. Some of the salaries referred to in the amendment, I doubt not, are too low—perhaps all of them. But I feel it to be my duty

to call the attention of the committee to the movement of salaries in the last ten years. I hold in my hand a statement of salaries other than legislative, as they were paid in 1860. The total amount of the salaries of officers of this government, in the several executive departments here in Washington in 1860, was \$809,864.67. The war so greatly increased our civil service, that now, in the year just closed, in the calendar year 1872, the total for the same classes of salaries with the increase of bureaus that have been put on the various departments, was \$3,598,878.35, being an increase of \$2,789,113.68.

“Now the fact that the salaries of the officers of the Government other than legislative, have been thus increased in the twelve years, is a fact that the House ought to know. And when it is proposed to increase the salaries by a sum I think somewhere in the neighborhood of a million and a half or two millions of dollars in one amendment, I feel it my duty to show them what the total of the salaries will be. I, of course, believe that the propositions in this amendment ought to be separated. Some of them gentlemen ought doubtless to vote for. But to pass that amendment in the lump, as laid before the committee now, I do not think it just, I do not think it equitable, and I do not think the House will do it; it ought not to be done.”

Notwithstanding General Garfield's opposition, the bill passed the House, and was sent to the Senate, where it was amended. The amendments were not satisfactory to the House, and a Committee of Conference was appointed. It resulted in the presentation of a bill by General Garfield, making a large increase in the salaries of the

Executive officers of the Government and members of Congress. On the 3d of March, 1873, in presenting this bill, General Garfield said :

“ Mr. Speaker, if I can have the attention of the House, I will explain the points embraced in this report, in reference to the salaries of the President, Vice-President, Cabinet officers, members of the Supreme Court, and members of the two Houses of Congress. The amendment known as the Butler Amendment was agreed to by the Senate in everything except the provision in reference to the salaries of members of Congress. I wish to state in a few words the condition of that question in the conference. In the first place the Senate voted directly on the proposition to strike out the provision increasing the salary of members of Congress, and by a large vote refused to strike it out. The Senate conferees insisted that the \$6,500 clause, cutting off mileage, actually reduced the pay of some eighteen members of the Senate. They refused, therefore, to submit to an amendment which cut down the salary of so many senators. The Senate conferees were unanimous in fixing the salary at \$7,500, and cutting off all allowances except actual individual travelling expenses of a member from his home to Washington and back once a session, and cutting off all other allowances of every kind. That proposition was agreed to by a majority of the conferees on the part of the House. I was opposed to the increase in conference as I have been opposed to it in the discussion and in my votes here, but my associate conferees were in favor of the Senate amendment, and I was compelled to choose between signing the report and running the risk of bring-

ing on an extra session of Congress. I have signed the report, and I present it as it is, and ask the House to act on it in accordance with their best judgment.

“Mr. Hibbard, of New Hampshire, said: I desire to ask the gentleman how much plunder will be taken from the treasury if this raising of salaries is adopted?”

“Mr. Garfield.—I am glad the gentleman has asked me that question. The report presented here, taking into account the changes made with reference to the salaries of members and officers of both Houses and other increases of salaries in this bill, will, according to the best estimate I have been able to make, involve an annual increase of about three-quarters of a million of dollars.

“Mr. Hibbard.—How much for the present Congress?”

“Mr. Garfield.—For the present Congress it involves an additional expenditure of about one and a quarter million. I think the House ought to know all the facts.”

On the final passage of the bill Gen. Garfield voted for it, for the same reasons that induced him to sustain the report of the committee of conference. He was sharply criticised for his course, for the measure proved one of the most objectionable to the country ever adopted by Congress. While satisfied of the propriety of his conduct, General Garfield was yet sensitive to the criticisms upon him. He wrote to a friend as follows in relation to his conduct:

“HIRAM, Ohio, April 21, 1873.

“Dear Friend :—Your kind and welcome letter of the 11th instant came duly to hand, for which I thank you. When I went into the army I did so expecting to follow the path of duty, whether it led me to life or death. In

entering Congress I undertook to follow the path of duty there, whether it led to political life or political death. I have cast many thousands of votes during my ten years of service, and none with a more conscientious conviction that I was doing right than the one for which I am so much blamed. Perhaps the people will never so understand it, but I believe most of them will some day. They may think I made a mistake, and they may be right about it. But I am sure that fair-minded men, when they fully understand the case, will see that I acted from worthy motives, and tried to do my duty. I have addressed a letter to the district, which will appear in this week's paper. They will see that I did all I could to keep the salary clause off from my bill, and when that effort failed I did what I could to reduce the amount appropriated, and that by standing by the bill I saved the treasury several hundred thousand dollars.

“ In 1856, Mr. Giddings voted for a large increase of pay of members of Congress, and the pay then dated back sixteen months. It passed the House then by one majority, and Mr. Giddings' vote turned the scale. It was not a part of an appropriation bill, but stood alone on its own merits. Mr. Giddings was not censured, but was, that same fall, renominated and re-elected. They did not call him a thief nor a robber; now they call me both, when I did more than any other member to prevent the increase of salaries. I believe that, in the long run, the people will be just. As ever, your friend,

“ J. A. GARFIELD.”

By the terms of the salary bill General Garfield was

entitled to \$5,000 back pay as a member of the House. He drew the amount, but as his ideas of duty would not permit him to appropriate it to his own use, he promptly paid it back into the treasury of the United States. Shortly after the nomination of General Garfield for the Presidency, some of his political opponents declared that while he had not used his back pay for his own wants, he had made a present of it to Hiram College. With regard to this a Cleveland reporter called upon Professor B. A. Hinsdale, the President of Hiram College, and said to him :

“I understand that a story is being told in certain sections that General Garfield made a proposition to Hiram College, viz., that he would draw from the United States Treasury the \$5,000 due him by the back salary grab, and give it to the college, providing the trustees were willing to accept it. Now, President Hinsdale, what are the facts in the case concerning this?”

Mr. Hinsdale answered with considerable vehemence : “I have received several letters of inquiry concerning this matter. I have answered all inquiries with a point-blank denial. General Garfield never made any such proposition to me or to anybody else connected with Hiram College. The story is false as a whole, in all its particulars, in its inception, and in its spirit. I wrote to Mr. Davis if there was a man in Salem who professed to have been present at this fictitious presentation scene, he would please say to said man for me that there is not a word of truth in the story he is telling ; that he was never present at any such scene ; that there never was any such scene ; and that he would also tell him

that he had better find some better trade than that of slander."

The case was so clear and the proofs so convenient to produce, that General Garfield had no trouble in refuting this slander.

The first session of the forty-third Congress commenced on the 1st of December, 1873. On the 8th of December a special committee reported a bill to the House to repeal the increase of certain salaries, adopted March 3, 1873, and to restore the former rates, to wit, for members of Congress, etc. On December 9th the bill was considered.

"Mr. Wilson, of Indiana, said: Mr. Speaker, the subject now under consideration is one which has attracted much public attention. The action of the forty-second Congress, in passing the act by which the salaries of senators and representatives were increased, which it is now proposed to repeal, and especially that feature of it whereby increased pay was made to date from the beginning of the Congress, has met with the fiercest denunciation. Not only those who voted for it, but those who voted against it, yet received its benefits, have been stigmatized as thieves and robbers.

"It matters not how many years of faithful service had been devoted to the country, nor how exalted a character for integrity had been builded up, this one act has been deemed an unpardonable sin, and treated as an unmitigated criminality. While indulging in this wholesale denunciation, no one stopped to consider the circumstances under which any member happened to be placed, and which to him, and to any reasonable man, might seem to

make it his duty to vote for the measure ; no difference of opinion was permitted as to its justice ; no appeal to reason would be listened to. My distinguished friend from Ohio (Mr. Garfield), who struggled against it until, in a conference report which he had resisted to the last, it was brought before the House attached to one of the most important appropriation bills, and then, as all of us who are familiar with the facts must confidently believe (and it is but justice to him to say so here), voted for it in the conscientious discharge of his duty to the country, has fared no better than any one else."

After some lengthy remarks by other members, Mr. Garfield said :

"Mr. Speaker, there was so much to admire in the speech to which the House has just listened, that it may seem ungracious to say anything in conflict with the doctrines announced. And yet the distinguished gentleman (Mr. Stephens, of Georgia) has said some things so strikingly different from the views generally entertained by the American people, that I venture to offer a few suggestions by way of reply, while the subject is still fresh in the minds of his hearers.

"All that the gentleman said in regard to the relation of public opinion to representative men will, I presume, be cordially concurred in by those who heard him. The real leaders of the people—they who give voice to the best thoughts or aspirations of their countrymen—are immeasurably above those who consult public passion only to cater to its worst tendencies. It is a high and worthy work to study public opinion, for the purpose of learning how best to serve the public good ; but to study to learn

how best to serve ourselves is base. But it is important that we understand what we mean by public opinion. It is not an infallible standard of right, for it is sometimes wholly wrong. Its judgments are frequently revised and reversed by its own consent. But it is true that, after a full hearing, public opinion finally adjusts itself on a basis which will be practically just and true. He greatly errs who calls all the passing and changing words of the public mind the fixed and final verdict of public judgment.

“The public opinion that teaches its most valuable and impressive lessons resembles the ocean—not when lashed by the breath of the tempest—but when seen in the grandeur of its all-pervading calm. The men who shall take the dash and roar of its wild waves on the rocks as their symbol of public opinion will not only fail to learn its best lessons, but may find themselves wrecked on its breakers. But the sea in its hour of calm, when the forces that play upon it are in equipoise—when its depths are unvexed by tempests—is the grand level by which all the heights and depths of the world are measured. And so public opinion, though it may at times dash itself in fury against events and against men, will at last settle down into broad and settled calm, and will mark the level on which we gauge our political institutions, and measure the strength and wisdom of opinions and men.

“While recognizing thus, the general justness and the almost omnipotent power of public opinion in a government like ours, it is equally important that the individual man should not be the servile and unquestioning follower of its behests. We may value it as a guide,

we may accept its lessons, but we should never be its slaves.

“ There is a circle of individual right within which every man’s opinions are sacredly his own, even in defiance of public opinion, and which his manhood and self-respect demand that he shall never surrender. But there are public questions like that which we are to-day considering, on which the voice of public opinion has a right to be heard and considered by every representative in the national legislature.

“ Now, if we were legislating for the ideal republic of Plato, I do not know that a wiser plan of compensation could be found than that proposed by the distinguished gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Stephens). If we lived in a world where the highest power was the best paid, his scheme would be perfect, and his argument unanswerable. But, so far as I have studied life, exactly the reverse is the accepted rule. The things that have the highest marketable value in the world, as we find it, are not the things that stand highest in the intellectual or moral scale.

“ One of the brightest and perhaps greatest men I know in this nation, a man who, perhaps, has done as much for its intellectual life as any other, told me, not many months ago, that he had made it the rule of his life to abandon any intellectual pursuit the moment it became commercially valuable; that others would utilize what he had discovered; that his field of work was above the line of commercial values; and when he brought down the great truths of science from the upper heights to the level of commercial values, a thousand

hands would be ready to take them and make them valuable in the markets of the world.

“ A voice—‘ Who was he ?’

“ Mr. Garfield.—It was Agassiz. He entered upon his great career, not for the salary it gave him, for that was meagre compared with the pay of those in the lower walks of life ; but he followed the promptings of his great nature, and works for the love of the truth, and for the instruction of mankind. Something of this spirit pervaded the lives of the great men who did so much to build up and maintain our Republican institutions. And this spirit is, in my judgment, higher and worthier than that which the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Stephens) has described.

“ To come immediately to the question before us, I agree with the distinguished gentleman that we should not be driven or swayed by that unjust clamor that calls men thieves who voted as they had the constitutional right to vote, and accepted a compensation which they had the legal and constitutional right to take. I join in no clamor of that sort ; nor will I join in any criminations against those who used their right to act and vote differently from myself on this subject. It is idle to waste our time now in discussing the votes of the last Congress in relation to the Salary Bill. We are called upon to confront this plain, practical question, ‘ Shall the Salary Bill of the last Congress be repealed ?’ I shall argue it on two grounds : first, the just demands of public opinion ; second, the relation of this repeal to the Government and its necessities ; and I shall confine my remarks to these two points. I think it cannot be doubted that public opinion plainly and clearly demands the repeal ;

and on a subject like this, the voice of the people should have more than ever its usual weight.

“When the public says to me, and to those associated with me, that we have under constitutional law given ourselves more pay than that public is willing to grant us, it would be indelicate and indecent in us on such a question to resist that public opinion.

“It does not compromise the manhood, the independence, or the self-respect of any representative to say that he will not help to keep on the statute book a law which allows him more pay than public opinion thinks he ought to have. Even if he believes public opinion wrong, he ought to yield to it in a matter of such delicacy.

“That is all the argument I make on the score of public opinion.

“I now come to the other point, the necessities of the Government. Gentlemen must remember that only seven years ago our expenditures had risen to a volume that was simply frightful, in view of the burdens of the country. We were then paying out over the counter of our treasury \$1,290,000,000 a year as the cost of sustaining the Government and meeting the great expenses entailed by the war. What was the duty of this national legislature? Manifestly to bring the expenses of the Government down as rapidly as possible from the high level of war to the normal level of peace.

“If, therefore, the forty-third Congress intends to go forward in the work of economy and retrenchment, if it has any hope of making further reductions in the expenditures of this Government, we must, before undertaking to carry out that work, give ourselves the moral

power that will result from a reduction of our own pay to the old standard. As the case stands to-day, our own salaries are the master key in our hands by which alone we can turn the machinery that will bring about a further reduction of expenses in the Government.

“Mr. Speaker, I say all this on the theory that we are to run the Government as our fathers who made it intended it should be run—not on the principle of the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Stephens), a principle that would make this the most expensive government on the globe, but on the old principle that there is something due to the honor of the service we perform.”

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL GARFIELD LEADS THE REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION—IS ELECTED TO THE SENATE.

Efforts to defeat General Garfield for Congress—His triumphant Re-election—The Democrats have a Majority in the House—Garfield loses his Chairmanship—One of the Republican Leaders—A sharp Arraignment of the Democratic Party—The Democratic Graveyard—Ohio goes Republican—General Garfield nominated for United States Senator—Is the Republican Candidate for Speaker of the House—A Member of two important Committees—Becomes the Republican Leader in the House—Garfield pours a Broadside into the Democratic Ranks—A Withering Denunciation of Democratic Policy—Reply to Mr. Tucker, of Virginia—Garfield breaks the Democratic Line—Delight of the Republicans in the House—Comments of the *New York Herald*—Appeal in behalf of the Loyal Men of the South—Speech on the Judicial Expenses Bill—Speech at Madison, Wisconsin—Speech at the Andersonville Re-union—Plain Talking on a Sad Subject—General Garfield is Elected to the United States Senate—His Arrival at Columbus—Reception at the Capital—His Remarks—Address of President Hinsdale on Garfield's Election—Speech of General Garfield on Democratic Nullification.

IN the elections of 1874, the Republican party suffered heavy reverses in the Congressional districts. The result was that a Democratic majority was returned to the House of Representatives. General Garfield was renominated by his district, receiving nearly every vote in the Convention, but at the polls a determined effort was made by the Democrats to defeat him. His vote was cut down from 19,189 in 1872, to 12,591, and an Inde-

pendent Republican polled 3,427 votes; but Garfield still had a plurality of 6,346 over his Democratic antagonist, and a clear majority of 2,919 over all opposition.

The preponderance of the Democratic party in the House, of course, gave them the speakership and the control of all the committees. General Garfield was removed from the chairmanship of the Committee on Appropriations, and was made the second Republican member of the Committee of Ways and Means. He rendered good service to his party and the country in this position, and by his boldness and brilliancy made himself regarded as one of the ablest leaders of the Republican minority in the House. In this respect he ranked next in the popular estimation to Mr. Blaine, of Maine, to whom the leadership of the party was conceded—surpassing him, indeed, in many things. He held his position on the Committee of Ways and Means for four years.

In 1876 General Garfield was again returned to Congress by a handsome majority. He had become so useful to his party that his nomination and election were now a matter of certainty. He ably maintained his great reputation as a speaker, as the following extract from one of his speeches delivered in the House on the 4th of August, 1876, will show :

“Mr. Chairman.—It is now time to inquire as to the fitness of this Democratic party to take control of our great nation and its vast and important interests for the next four years. I put the question to the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Lamar). What has the Democratic party done to merit that great trust? He tries to

show in what respects it would not be dangerous. I ask him to show in what it would be safe.

“I affirm, and I believe I do not misrepresent the great Democratic party, that in the last sixteen years they have not advanced one great national idea that is not to-day exploded and as dead as Julius Cæsar. And if any Democrat here will rise and name a great national doctrine his party has advanced, within that time, that is now alive and believed in, I will yield to him. (A pause.) In default of an answer, I will attempt to prove my negative.

“What were the great central doctrines of the Democratic party in the Presidential struggle of 1860? The followers of Breckinridge said slavery had a right to go wherever the Constitution goes. Do you believe that to-day? And is there a man on this continent that holds that doctrine to-day? Not one. That doctrine is dead and buried. The other wing of the Democracy held that slavery might be established in the Territories if the people wanted it. Does anybody hold that doctrine to-day? Dead, absolutely dead!

“Come down to 1864. Your party, under the lead of Tilden and Vallandigham, declared the experiment of war to save the Union was a failure. Do you believe in that doctrine to-day? That doctrine was shot to death by the guns of Farragut at Mobile, and driven, in a tempest of fire, from the valley of the Shenandoah by Sheridan, less than a month after its birth at Chicago.

“Come down to 1868. You declared the constitutional amendments revolutionary and void. Does any

man on this floor say so to-day? If so, let him rise and declare it.

“Do you believe in the doctrine of the Broadhead letter of 1868, that the so-called constitutional amendments should be disregarded? No; the gentleman from Mississippi accepts the results of the war! The Democratic doctrine of 1868 is dead!

“I walk across that Democratic camping ground as in a graveyard. Under my feet resound the hollow echoes of the dead. There lies Slavery, a black marble column at the head of its grave, on which I read: ‘Died in the flames of the Civil War: loved in its life; lamented in its death; followed to its bier by its only mourner, the Democratic party, but dead!’ And here is a double grave; ‘Sacred to the memory of Squatter Sovereignty. Died in the Campaign of 1860.’ On the reverse side; ‘Sacred to the memory of Dred Scott and the Breckinridge doctrine. Both dead at the hands of Abraham Lincoln!’ And here a monument of brimstone; ‘Sacred to the memory of the Rebellion: the War against it is a failure; *Tilden et Vallandigham—fecerunt*, A. D. 1864. Dead on the field of battle; shot to death by the million guns of the Republic. The doctrine of Secession, of State Sovereignty, dead! Expired in the flames of civil war, amid the blazing rafters of the Confederacy, except that the modern Æneas, fleeing out of the flames of that ruin, bears on his back another Anchises of State sovereignty, and brings it here in the person of the honorable gentleman from the Appomattox district of Virginia (Mr. Tucker). All else is dead!

“Now, gentlemen, are you sad, are you sorry for these deaths? Are you not glad that Secession is dead? that Squatter Sovereignty is dead? that the doctrine of the failure of the War is dead? Then you are glad that you were out-voted in 1860, in 1864, in 1868, and in 1872. If you have tears to shed over these losses, shed them in the graveyard, but not in this House of living men. I know that many a Southern man rejoices that these issues are dead. The gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. Lamar) has clothed his joy with eloquence.

“Now, gentlemen, if you yourselves are glad that you have suffered defeat during the last sixteen years, will you not be equally glad when you suffer defeat next November? But pardon that remark. I regret it; I should use no bravado.

“Now, gentlemen, come with me for a moment into the camp of the Republican party and review its career. Our central doctrine in 1860 was that slavery should never extend itself over another foot of American soil. Is that doctrine dead? It is folded away like a victorious banner; its truth is alive for evermore on this continent. In 1864 we declared that we would put down the rebellion and secession. And that doctrine lives, and will live when the second centennial has arrived. Freedom, national, universal and perpetual—our great constitutional amendments, are they alive or dead? Alive, thank the God that shields both liberty and union. And our national credit! saved from the assaults of Pendleton; saved from the assaults of those who struck it later, rising higher and higher at home and abroad; and only now in

doubt lest its chief, its only enemy, the Democracy, should triumph in November."

General Garfield took an active part in the memorable campaign of 1877, which did much to restore the State of Ohio to the Republican party. In the early part of the year he was a candidate for the office of United States Senator from Ohio, to succeed the Hon. John Sherman, who had accepted the secretaryship of the Treasury in the cabinet of President Hayes. He withdrew from the contest, however, at the special request of President Hayes, who assured him he could be of more service to the administration as a member of the House than as a senator. Mr. Blaine had been elected to the Senate, and General Garfield was now the formally recognized leader of the Republican party in the House. He held this position for several years, displaying in it all his old vigor and boldness, and the sound qualities of leadership that induced the Republican party to nominate him for the Presidency.

At the meeting of the forty-fifth Congress in 1877, General Garfield was the Republican candidate for Speaker of the House, and received the full vote of his party. The Democrats being so largely in the majority, the Republican nomination and the vote upon it were merely complimentary. Hon. Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, was elected Speaker by the Democrats.

In 1878 General Garfield was again elected to Congress by a handsome majority.

In the same year, when the Democrats controlled the Legislature of Ohio, General Garfield was a candidate for

the complimentary vote of his party for United States Senator; but after a prolonged and bitter contest in the caucus, his name was withdrawn, and it was resolved to cast only blank votes in the two Houses.

The forty-sixth Congress met in extra session on the 18th of March, 1879. General Garfield was nominated by the Republicans for Speaker of the House, and received one hundred and twenty-five votes, but the Democratic majority reelected Speaker Randall. The Speaker, in reorganizing the standing committees of the House, placed General Garfield at the head of the Republican membership of the Committee of Ways and Means. He also appointed him one of the committee charged with revising the rules of the House of Representatives, thus paying a high and deserved compliment to General Garfield's rare knowledge of parliamentary law.

General Garfield was the acknowledged leader of the Republican side of the House during this session. He held the Democracy to a strict accountability in forcing the extra session upon the country, and denounced their course in withholding the supplies of the Government in order to force upon it an acceptance of their schemes for removing the safeguards that had been thrown around the ballot box, which measures he declared were unpatriotic and dangerous. On the 29th of March, 1879, he made his great effort. The House went into Committee of the Whole, Mr. Springer, of Illinois, in the chair, on the Army Appropriation Bill.

"Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, obtained the floor, and proceeded to speak in a clear voice. He did not desire

to say much outside of the pending point of order. The section against which that point had been raised was clearly germane to the bill. All laws penal in their character were to be construed strictly, but laws involving questions of public right, public liberty, and public policy were to be liberally construed—not strictly. The gentleman from Maine (Mr. Frye) had said that the section did not, on its face, retrench expenditures. That was not the question. The question was, ‘Would it probably retrench expenditures?’ He thought it would, and not only possibly or probably, but certainly. The past history of the country showed that enormous expenditures had attended the use of troops at elections. He went on to argue that the acts of 1795 and 1817 only authorized the use of the troops to put down domestic insurrection. The provision for the use of troops for civil purposes was an entirely different matter. The law authorizing the use of troops at the polls had never any existence until 1865, and the danger of such a law would not, he presumed, be denied by anybody. If there was any man on the floor who was in favor of peaceable elections and order throughout the length and breadth of the land he (Mr. Stephens) professed to be equally strong with him in that feeling. He was for law and order. He had witnessed the soldier at the polls, and had seen no good of it. The country had got along three-fourths of a century without having troops at the polls, and the sentiment of the people was as much against their presence there now as it had ever been. The future harmony, order, and prosperity of the country would be greatly promoted by hereafter adhering to the principles and precepts of the

fathers of the Republic. Congress had a right to raise armies and to designate the purpose for which they should be used; and the President's right to control and direct their movements was clearly an executive one, with which Congress had no power to interfere. But it could say that the executive could not use such forces for a particular purpose. It had a right (which he did not think the executive would deny) to say that the military should not be used at the polls. Let the land forces be devoted to protecting the frontier. Let the navy be afloat on the sea, protecting the country's flag and commerce. Let each be in the sphere to which it was entitled, in which, in the past, it had won such honor and glory for the common country. Let them perform their duties, and let the civil administration of the country go on in its own channel. Let members of Congress be returned as heretofore, and if any man was defrauded of his right, then let the high court of the country, the House of Representatives, decide that question, and not the bayonet of the soldier.

REVOLUTIONARY DECISION OF THE CHAIR.

“The Chairman then proceeded to rule on the point of order, which he did by declaring the section to be in order, both on the ground of its being germane and of its retrenching expenditure. There could scarcely be a doubt as to its being germane, for it related to the duties of the army, or rather to the uses to which the army may be put. ‘Germane’ did not mean synonymous, but meant something near akin, closely allied, relevant to the sub-

ject. As to the question of retrenching expenditures, he referred to the official estimates and to appropriations heretofore made to show how much money had been expended for transportation and other expenses attending the use of the troops at the polls. The ending section proposed to retrench such expenditures for the future. For these and other reasons the point of order was overruled.

“ Mr. Conger (Rep.), of Michigan, appealed from the decision of the chair, and the decision was sustained—yeas 125, nays 107.

“ Mr. New (Rep.), of Indiana, offered an amendment providing that nothing contained in the section should be held to abridge or affect the duty or power of the President under the fourth article of the Constitution to send troops into States on the application of the legislature or executive.

“ The amendment was allowed to stand over for the present.

MR. GARFIELD'S SPEECH.

“ Mr. Garfield (Rep.), of Ohio, then took the floor. He commenced his speech by referring to the gravity and solemnity of the crisis that had now been brought upon the country, and declared that the House had, to-day, resolved to enter upon a revolution against the Constitution and the Government; and that the consequence of that resolve, if persisted in, meant nothing short of subversion of the Government. He sketched the point at issue between the two Houses at the close of the last Congress, and read from a report of one of the Senate conferees to

the effect that the Democratic conferees on the part of the House were determined, unless the action of the House was concurred in, to refuse making appropriations to carry on the Government, and he also quoted from the speech of Senator Beck (another of the conferees) to the effect that the Democrats claimed the right which the House of Commons in England had established, after two centuries of conquest, to say they would not grant the money of the people unless there was a redress of grievances. These propositions, continued Mr. Garfield, in various forms, more or less vehemently, were repeated in the last House, and with that situation of affairs the session came near its close. The Republican majority in the Senate, and the Republican minority in the House, expressed the deepest possible solicitude to avoid the catastrophe here threatened. They expressed their strongest desire to avoid the danger to the country and to its business of an extra session of Congress, and they expressed their willingness to let go what they considered the least important of the propositions—not as a matter of coercion at all, but as a matter of fair adjustment and compromise, if they could be met in the spirit of adjustment on the other side. Unfortunately, no spirit of adjustment appeared on the other side to meet their advances. And now the new Congress is assembled, and after ten days of deliberation the House of Representatives has resolved substantially to reaffirm the propositions of its predecessor, and on these propositions we are met to-day. This is no time to enter into all this case. I am not prepared for it myself. But I shall confine myself to the one phase of the issue presented in this bill.

DRAWING THE LINES.

“Mr. Atkins (Dem.), of Ten., asked Mr. Garfield whether he understood him to state that there had been no proposition to compromise made in Conference Committee.

“Mr. Garfield replied that he did not undertake to state what had been said in the Conference Committee, for he had not been a member of the Conference. He had been only stating what had been stated on the floor of the House and of the Senate.

“Mr. Atkins.—Then I state that a proposition was made in the Conference Committee the same as the proposition now before the House, and which is proposed to be attached to this bill.

“Mr. Garfield.—I take it for granted that what my friend says is strictly true. I know nothing to the contrary. The question may be asked why we make any special resistance to propositions which a great many gentlemen have declared are to be considered of no importance. So far as this side is concerned I desire to say this: We recognize you, gentlemen of the other side, as skilful parliamentarians and skilful strategists; you have chosen wisely and adroitly your line of assault; you have put forward perhaps the least objectionable of your measures, but we meet that as one part of your programme. We reply to it as an order of battle, and we are as much compelled by the logic of the situation to meet you on the skirmish line as we would be if you were attacking the intrenchments themselves. And, therefore, on the threshold, we desire to plant our case on the general grounds on which we choose to defend it.

THE FEEBLEST GOVERNMENT ON EARTH.

“Mr. Garfield then went on to refer to what he had stated on the last day of the last Congress, as to the division of the government into three parts—the nation, the Senate, and the people; and he said that, looking at the government as a foreigner might look upon it, it might be said to be the feeblest government on the earth, while looking at it as American citizens did, it was the mightiest government. A foreigner could point out a dozen ways in which the government could be killed, and that not by violence. Of course all governments might be overturned by the sword. But there was some ways by which this government might be utterly annihilated without the firing of a gun. The people might say that they would not elect representatives. That, of course, was a violent supposition, but there was no possible remedy for such a condition of things, and without a House of Representatives there could be no support of a government, and, consequently, there could be no government; so the States might say through their legislatures, that they would not elect senators. The very abstention from electing senators would absolutely destroy the government, and there would be no process of compulsion. Or, supposing that the two Houses were assembled in their usual order, and that a bare majority of one in either House should firmly bind itself together and say that it would vote to adjourn at the moment of meeting each day, and would do that for two years in succession—in that case what would happen and what would be the measure of redress?

The government would die. There could not be found in the whole range of judicial or executive authority any remedy whatever. The power of a member of the House to vote was free, and he might vote 'no' on every proposition of that kind. It was not so with the executive. The executive had no power to destroy the government. Let the executive travel but one inch beyond the line of law and there was the power of impeachment. But if the electors among the people who elected representatives, or if the electors in the State legislatures who created senators, or if senators and representatives themselves abstain from the performance of their duty, there was no remedy.

WHAT THE CONSTITUTION MEANT.

“At a first view it might seem remarkable that a body of wise men like those who framed the Constitution should have left the whole side of the fabric of government open to those deadly assaults, but on another view of the case they were wise. What was their reliance? It was on the sovereignty of the nation, on the crowned and anointed sovereign to whom all American citizens owed their allegiance. That sovereign was the body of the people of the United States, inspired by their love of country and their sense of obligation to public duty. As the originators of the forces that were sent to Congress to do their work they had no need of any coercive authority to be laid on them to compel them to do their manifest duty. Public opinion, the level of that mighty ocean from which all heights and all depths were measured, was deemed a sufficient measure to guard that side of the

constitution and those approaches to the life of the nation, absolutely from all danger, all harm. Up to this hour our sovereign has never failed us. There has never been such abstention from the exercise of those primary functions of sovereignty, as either to cripple or endanger the government. And now, for the first time in our history, and I will say for the first time in at least two centuries in the history of English-speaking people, has it been proposed, or at least insisted upon, that these voluntary powers shall be used for the destruction of the government. I want it understood that the proposition which I have read, and which is the programme announced to the American people to-day, is, this day, that if we cannot have our way in a certain manner, we will destroy the government of this country by using the voluntary power not of the people, but of ourselves, against the government to destroy it. What is our theory of law? It is free consent. That is the granite foundation of our whole structure. Nothing in this Republic can be a law that has not a free consent of the House, the free consent of the Senate, and the free consent of the executive. Or if the executive refuses his free consent, then it must have the free consent of two-thirds of each body. Will anybody deny that? Will anybody challenge a lie of that statement—that free consent is the foundation rock of all our institutions?

THREATS TO STOP THE GOVERNMENT.

“And yet the programme announced two weeks ago was, that if the Senate refused to consent to the demand of the House the government should stop. The proposi-

tion was then, and the programme is now, that although there is not a Senate to veto it, there is still a third independent factor in the legislative power of the government which is to be coerced at the peril of the destruction of the government. It makes no difference what your issue is. If it were the simplest and most inoffensive proposition in the world, yet if you demand as a matter of coercion that it shall be put in, every fair-minded Republican in America would be bound to resist it as much as though his own life depended on his resistance. I am not arguing as to the merits of your three amendments at all: I am speaking of our methods, and I say that they are against the constitution of our country. I say that they are revolutionary to the core, and that they tend to the destruction of the first element of American liberty, which is free consent of all the powers that unite to make the law. I ask anybody to take up my challenge and to show me where hitherto this consent has been coerced as a condition precedent to the support of the government. It is a little surprising to me that our friends on the other side should have gone into this great contest on so slender a topic as the one embraced in this particular bill. Victor Hugo said, in his description of the great Battle of Waterloo, that two armies were like two mighty giants, and that sometimes a chip under the heel of one might determine the victory. It may be, gentlemen, that there is merely a chip under your heel, or it may be that you treated it as a chip on our shoulder. But whether it is under your heel or on our shoulder it represents a matter of revolution, and we fight for the chip as if it were an

ingot of the richest ore. [Loud applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

A POINT FOR DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS.

“Let us see what the chip is. Do the gentlemen know what they ask when they ask us to repeal? Who made this law which you now demand to have repealed in this bill? It was introduced into the Senate of the United States by a prominent Democrat from the State of Kentucky (Mr. Powell). It was insisted upon in an able and elaborate speech by him. It was reported against by a Republican committee in that body. It went through days and weeks of debate in the Senate, and when it finally came to be acted upon in that body this is about the way the vote ran: Every Democrat in the Senate voted for it, and every senator who voted against it was a Republican. No Democrat voted against it, but every Democratic senator voted for it. Who were they? Mr. Hendricks, of Indiana; Mr. Davis, of Kentucky; Mr. Johnson, of Maryland; Mr. McDougal, of California; Mr. Powell, of Kentucky; Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, and Mr. Saulsbury, of Delaware. There were fewer Republican senators who voted for it than there were who voted against it. Thirteen Republican senators voted against it and only ten for it. The bill then came over to the House and was put upon its passage here. And how did the vote stand in this body? Every Democrat in the House of Representatives voted for it—sixty of them. The total number of persons who voted for it in the House was about one hundred and thirteen, and of that number a majority were Democrats. The distin-

gushed Speaker of the House, Samuel J. Randall, voted for it. The distinguished chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means (Fernando Wood) voted for it. A distinguished member from Ohio, now a senator from that State (Mr. Pendleton) voted for it. Every man of leading name or fame in the Democratic party who was then in the Congress of the United States voted for the bill, and not one against it. In this House there were but few Republicans who voted against it. I was one of the few. Thaddeus Stephens voted against it. What was the object of the bill at that time? It was this—it was alleged by Democrats that in those days of war there was interference with elections in the border States. There was no charge of any interference in the States where war did not exist. But lest there might be some infraction of the freedom of elections a large number of Republicans in Congress were unwilling to give any appearance whatever of interfering with the freedom of elections, voted against this law as an expression of their purpose that the army should not be improperly used in and about any election.

“Mr. Carlisle (Dem.) of Kentucky.—I want to ask if the Democrats in the Senate and the House did not vote for that proposition because it came in the form of a substitute for another proposition still more objectionable to them?

“Mr. Garfield.—The gentleman is quite mistaken. The original bill was introduced by Senator Powell, of Kentucky. It was amended by several persons in its course through the Senate, but the vote I have given is the final vote. A Republican senator moved to reconsider it,

hoping to kill the proposition, and for four or five days it was delayed. It was again passed, every Democrat voting for it. In the House there was no debate, and therefore no expression of the reason why anybody voted for it.

STEPHENS IN A MERRY MOOD.

“Mr. Stephens, of Georgia.—I wish to ask the gentleman if the country is likely to be revolutionized and the Government destroyed by repealing a law that the gentleman voted against? (Laughter on the Democratic side.)

“Mr. Garfield.—I think not, sir. That is not the element of revolution that I have been discussing. The proposition now is that fourteen years have passed since the war, and not one petition from any American citizen has come to us asking that the law be repealed; not one memorial has found its way to our desks, complaining of the law; and now the Democratic House of Representatives hold that if they are not permitted to force on another House and the executive against their will and their consent, the repeal of a law that the Democrats made it shall be a sufficient ground for starving this Government. That is the proposition we are here debating.

“Mr. Wood (Dem.), of New York.—Before the gentleman leaves that part of the discussion, I desire to ask him whether he wishes to make the impression on this House that the bill introduced by Senator Powell, of Kentucky, which resulted finally in the law of 1865, was the bill that passed the Senate and the House which he stated that the present Speaker of the House and myself voted in favor of?

“Mr. Garfield.—I have not intimated that there were no amendments. There were amendments.

“Mr. Wood.—I want to correct the impression. I deny that, so far as I am personally concerned, I ever voted for the bill, except as a substitute for a more pernicious and objectionable measure. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

“Mr. Garfield.—All I say is a matter of record. What I say is that the gentleman voted for that law, and every Democrat in the Senate and in the House who voted at all voted for it.

“Mr. Wood.—I want to ask the gentleman whether, in 1865, at the time of the passing of this law, the war had really yet subsided—whether there was not a portion of this country in a condition where it was impossible to exercise an elective franchise unless there was some kind of military interference; and whether, at the expiration of fourteen years after the war has subsided, that gentleman is yet prepared to continue a war measure in a time of profound peace in the country?

GOING BACK TO 1860.

“Mr. Garfield.—I have no doubt that the patriotic gentleman from New York took all those things into consideration when he voted for that bill, and I may have been unpatriotic in voting against it; but he and I must stand on our record as made up. Let it be understood that I have not at all entered into the discussion of the merits of the case. I am discussing a method of revolution against the Constitution of the United States. I desire

to ask the forbearance of the gentlemen on the other side for remarks that I dislike to make, for they will bear witness that I have in many ways shown my desire that the wounds of the war shall be healed and that the grass that God plants over the graves of our dead may signalize the return of the spring of friendship and peace between all parts of this country. But I am compelled by the necessity of the situation to refer for a moment to a chapter of history. The last act of the Democratic administration in this House, eighteen years ago, was stirring and dramatic, but it was heroic and high-souled. Then the Democratic party said, 'If you elect your man as President of the United States, we will shoot your Union to death;' and the people of this country, not willing to be coerced, but believing that they had a right to vote for Abraham Lincoln if they chose, did elect him lawfully as President. And then your leaders in control of the majority of the other wing of this Capitol did the heroic thing of withdrawing from their seats, and your representatives withdrew from their seats and flung down to us the gage of mortal battle. We called it rebellion, but we admitted that it was honorable, that it was courageous, and that it was noble to give us the fell gage of battle and fight it out in the open field. That conflict and what followed we all know too well; and to-day, after eighteen years, the book of your domination is opened where you turned down your leaves in 1860, and you are signalizing your return to power by reading the second chapter (not this time an heroic one), that declares that if we do not let you dash a statute out of the book, you will, not shoot the Union to death, as in the first chapter, but starve it to

death by refusing the necessary appropriations. (Applause on the Republican side.) You, gentlemen, have it in your power to kill this movement; you have it in your power, by withholding these two bills, to smite the nerve centres of our constitution to the stillness of death; and you have declared your purpose to do it if you cannot break down the elements of free consent that up to this time have always ruled in the Government.

SUPERCILIOUS CARPING.

“Mr. Davis (Dem.), of North Carolina.—Do I understand the gentleman to state that refusal to admit the army at the polls will be the death of this government? That is the logic of his remark if it means anything. We say it will be the preservation of the government to keep the army from destroying liberty at the polls.

“Mr. Garfield.—I have too much respect for the intelligence of the gentleman from North Carolina to believe that he thinks that that was my argument. He does not say that he thinks so. On the contrary, I am sure that every clear-minded man knows that that was not my argument. My argument was this—that unless some independent branch of the legislative power against its will is forced to sign or vote what it does not consent to, it will use the power in its hands to starve the government to death.

“Mr. Davis.—How does the gentleman assume that we are forcing some branch of the government to do what it does not wish to do? How do we know that, or how does the gentleman know it?

“Mr. Garfield.—My reply to the gentleman is, that I read at the outset of my remarks the declaration of his party asserting that this is its programme. In 1856, in Cincinnati, in the National Democratic Convention, and still later, in 1860, the national Democracy in the United States, affirmed the right of the veto as one of the sacred rights of our Government, and declared that any law which could not be passed over a veto had no right to become a law, and that the only redress was an appeal from the veto to the people at the next election. That has been the Democratic doctrine on that subject from the remotest day—certainly from General Jackson’s time until now. What would you have said in 1861 if the Democratic majority in the Senate, instead of taking the course which it did, had simply said: ‘We will put an amendment on an appropriation bill declaring the right of any State to secede from the Union at pleasure, and forbidding any officer of the army or navy of the United States from interfering with any State in its purpose to secede?’ Suppose the Democratic majority had said then, ‘Put that on these appropriation bills, or we will refuse supplies to the government.’ Perhaps they could have killed the government then by starvation. But in the madness of that hour the secession government did not dream that it would be honorable to put their fight on that ground, but they walked out on their plan of battle and fought it out. But now, in a way which the wildest of secessionists never dreamed of taking, it is proposed to make this new assault on the vitals of the nation.

A REPUBLICAN CHALLENGE.

“Gentlemen (addressing the Democratic side of the House), we have tried to count the cost. We did try to count it in 1861 before we picked up the gage of battle; and although no man could then forecast the awful loss in blood and treasure, yet having started in we staid there to victory. We simply made the appeal to our sovereign, to that great omnipotent public opinion in America, to determine whether the Union should be shot to death. And now lawfully in our right hand, in our place here, we pick up the gage of battle which you have thrown down, and will appeal to our common sovereign to say whether you shall break down the principle of free consent in legislation at the price of starving the government to death. We are ready to pass these bills for the support of the government at any hour when you will offer them in the ordinary way, and if you offer these other measures as separate measures, we will meet you in the spirit of fair and fraternal debate. But you shall not compel us—you shall not coerce us—even to save this government, until the question has gone to the sovereign to determine whether it will consent to break down any of its voluntary powers. And on that ground, gentlemen, we plant ourselves. (Loud applause on the Republican side and in the galleries.) We remind you, in conclusion, that this great zeal of yours in regard to keeping the officers of the government out of the States has not been always yours. I remember that only six years before the war your law authorized marshals of the United States to go through all our house-

holds and hunt for fugitive slaves. It did not only that, but it empowered marshals to call for a posse-comitatus and to call upon all the bystanders to join in the chase, and your Democratic attorney-general declared in an opinion, in 1854, that a marshal of the United States might call to his aid the whole posse, including soldiers and sailors and marines of the United States, to join in the chase and to hunt down the fugitive. Now, fellow members of the House, if, for the purpose of making slavery eternal, you could send your marshals and could summon posses and use the armed forces of the United States, by what face or grace can you tell us that, in order to procure freedom in elections and peace at the polls, you cannot use the same marshal with his armed posse? But I refrain from discussing the merits of the proposition. I have tried in this hurried and unsatisfactory way to give my ground of opposition to this legislation."

As Mr. Garfield resumed his seat, he was again loudly applauded on the Republican side and in the galleries.

On the 4th of April, in reply to Mr. Tucker, of Virginia, who in behalf of his party had threatened the stoppage of the supplies of the army unless the rider tacked on to the appropriation bill, forbidding the use of the troops at the polls, should be adopted, General Garfield spoke with rare force and effect.

"Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, said: During the last four days fifteen or twenty demolitions of his argument of last Saturday had been made in the presence of the House and of the country. All of them save one had alleged

that he held it to be revolutionary to place this legislation on an appropriation bill. If they had any particular pleasure in setting up a man of straw to knock him down again, they had enjoyed that pleasure. He had never claimed that it was either revolutionary or unconstitutional to put a rider on an appropriation bill. No man on the Republican side had claimed that. The most that had been said was that it was considered a bad parliamentary practice. All parties in the country had repeatedly said that. The gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Blackburn) had thought that he was especially severe in showing that he (Mr. Garfield) had insisted on the passage of a conference report in 1872, in an appropriation bill that had a rider to it, and had said that it was revolutionary in the Democratic party to resist it. What he (Mr. Garfield) had said on that occasion, and what he said now, was that it was revolutionary in the gentleman's party to refuse to let the appropriation bill be voted on. For four days gentlemen on that side had said that the House should not vote on the appropriation bill because there was a rider on it. He had tried to prevent that rider being put on, but when the minority insisted that the House should never act upon it, he had said that that was an unparliamentary obstruction. The Republicans did not filibuster to prevent a vote on the pending measure. The majority had a right (however indecent it might be as a matter of parliamentary practice) to put a rider on the appropriation bill and pass it. When the bill was sent to the Senate that body had a perfect right to pass it. And when it went to the President, it was the President's constitutional right to approve and sign it. If the Presi-

dent signed it, then it would be a law ; but it was equally the President's constitutional right to disapprove it. Should he do so, then, unless the other side had a two-third majority in the House and Senate to pass the bill notwithstanding the President's objections, it could not be passed without the flattest violation of the constitution.

THE VETO QUESTION.

“Nobody on the Republican side had brought up the question of a veto. It had been brought up by the proclamation of Democratic caucuses and by the conference committees of the last House that had written it down as their programme, that they would bind together these elements of legislation and send them to the President, and that if he did not approve them the Democratic party would not vote supplies for the government. You (said he, addressing the opposite side) threatened him in advance, before you let him have an opportunity to say yes or no. You walked into this Capitol with your threats against him in your high-sounding proclamations. You ‘threatened in the index :’ it remains to be seen whether in the body of your work and in its concluding sentences your thunder will be as loud as it was in the opening chapter. (Applause on the Republican side.) Let no gentleman say that I, or any man on this floor, have threatened a veto. It would be indecent to do it. It would be indecent for any of us even to speak of what the executive intends, for none of us has the right to know that. But you in advance proclaim to him that if he dared to exercise his constitutional power you would refuse to vote the supplies of the government—in other

words, that you would starve it to death. And that is the proposition of my distinguished friend from Virginia (Mr. Tucker), who has come nearer meeting this case than any man on this floor—has made a point which is a part of the grandeur of his intellect, which I respect. He says that under our constitution we can vote supplies for the army for but two years, and that in a certain way the army ceases to be if the supplies are not voted. He is mistaken in one thing—the army is an organization independent of appropriation bills so far as the creation of officers and ranks is concerned. The mere supply of it, of course, comes through the appropriation bills. If you refuse supplies to the army it must perish of inanition. The gentleman from Virginia says, ‘Unless you let us append a condition, which is to us a redress of grievances, we will let the army be annihilated on the 30th of June next by lack of food and shelter.’ That is fair in argument; that is brave. But what is the ‘grievance’ of which the gentleman complains? A law: a law of the land. A law made by the representatives of the people, made through all the proper forms of consent known to our constitution. And it is his grievance that he could not get rid of it in the ordinary and constitutional way of repealing a law. If he can get rid of it by all the powers of consent that go to make or unmake a law, then he can do so, whether it is a ‘grievance’ or not, whether it is good or bad.

“If the gentleman from Virginia wants to take before the American people this proposition of letting our army be annihilated on the 30th of June next, unless the President, against his conscience and sense of duty, shall sign

what he sends him, we will debate the question in the forum of every man's mind. If what the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Blackburn) calls 'the return of the Democratic party to its birthright' (changed to 'heritage' in the *Record*) is to be signalized in its first great act by striking down the grand army of the United States, the people of this country will not be slow to understand that there are reminiscences about that army which these gentlemen would willingly get rid of. [Loud applause on the Republican side and in the galleries].

"In the course of further remarks Mr. Garfield expressed his willingness to help the Democrats to wipe from the statute book the law authorizing the use of the army at the polls. A bill for that purpose should be introduced in the regular manner."

In describing the effect of this speech the correspondent of the *New York Herald* said :

"The exposure by General Garfield to-day of the demure manner in which the rider of the army bill was arranged by the Democrats will deservedly put the managers of the extremists to disgrace. The amendment so hastily offered from the Democratic side after he sat down, showed their surprise and a certain demoralization. This amendment has yet to be discussed in the House, as well as Mr. Baker's, offered in the interest of economy, and, he might have added, of a useful and necessary reform, and the whole bill will be elaborately discussed and amended in the Senate. It will go to the President in a shape quite different from that in which it was brought into the House, and there are signs here that the moderate men of the Democratic side are at last—and a little too

late, as usual—making up their minds to assert themselves. They begin to try to steer their ship after the extremists have carried it into the breakers.”

Commenting upon the speech, the *Herald* said, editorially :

“The discussion of the army bill yesterday was more powerful and noteworthy than it has been on any preceding day. Its great feature was the second speech of Mr. Garfield, who rose to the full height of the occasion and stripped the question of the infinite rubbish which has gathered around it in the progress of the debate. It was really a statesmanlike effort, alike remarkable for candor, for clearness of statement, for force of logic and especially for the sureness of aim with which he hit the Democratic position between wind and water and set his opponents at work in trying to stop the leaks in their ship. He frankly repudiated all the Republican nonsense about the enormity of attaching extraneous legislation to an appropriation bill. He declared his willingness to repeal the offensive sections of the Revised Statutes in separate bills. He stated some strong reasons why it is inexpedient to strike out merely the one clause which the Democrats seek to repeal without annulling the whole section. The effect of his speech seems to have been remarkable in disconcerting the Democrats. It is probable now that if an attempt is made to carry out the threat of stopping the supplies, the party will split, and our correspondent therefore says, very aptly and forcibly, that Mr. Garfield ‘has broken the Democratic line.’”

On the 16th of April, during the debate on the Southern Claims Bill, General Garfield made the following gen-

erous appeal in behalf of the men of the South who were loyal to the Union during the rebellion. He said:

“The general doctrine of belligerents is, of course, accepted by everybody to cover as enemies technically all the inhabitants of the belligerent territory. That general doctrine is recognized by all lawyers everywhere. But nobody has ever denied, except the gentleman from Wisconsin, that during our late war, and since the Supreme Court has repeatedly determined that in cases before it the question of loyalty cannot be raised where the party has been granted a pardon. It was stated in the last Congress that ninety-nine per cent. of all the people of the seceded States were what we would call disloyal, and that every man in those States that amounted to anything belonged to that category. I desire to traverse that proposition by some facts. Do gentlemen know that, leaving out all the border States, there were fifty regiments and seven companies of white men in our army fighting for the Union from the States that went into rebellion? Do they know that from the single State of Kentucky more Union soldiers fought under our flag than Napoleon took into the battle of Waterloo—more than Wellington took with all the allied armies against Napoleon? Do they remember that 186,000 colored men fought under our flag against the rebellion and for the Union, and that of that number 90,000 were from the States which went into rebellion? To say that they were enemies, that they had no rights, and that when we came out of the war we should not pay them and their families for all the proper losses that they suffered in aid of our Government, is what I had hoped no man on either side of the

House would say. I am glad to know that the gentlemen who fought against us do not say it—not one of them. It remained for one of our own soldiers to say that nothing ought to be paid to any man, however loyal, if he came from the South. In my judgment, that is in the highest degree inequitable and unjust. Let the Southern Claims Commission go on until it has acted in cases before it, and then let it be mustered out. Let us not enlarge that business, but let us complete it. Most of all, let us not turn it over to a court where the distinction between loyalty and disloyalty is not retained.”

On the 19th of June, 1879, Mr. McMahan (Dem.), of Ohio, submitted to conference report upon the judicial expenses bill. The report recommends that the House recede from its disagreement to amendment 1 and agree to the same, with an amendment striking out the words inserted by the Senate and inserting in lieu thereof the following: “Under any of the provisions of title 26 of the Revised Statutes of the United States authorizing the appointment or payment of general or special deputy marshals for services in connection with elections or on election day.”

“Mr. McMahan proceeded to explain the report. If adopted it would prohibit any officer of the Government from making any contract or incurring any liability under any of the provisions of title 26 of the Revised Statutes. It would be seen that supervisors were not mentioned in the section. There was no doubt that all supervisors, ordinary and chief, were paid out of a permanent annual appropriation fund. The limitation was confined to marshals, and if Democrats surrendered that limi-

tation, they would be base and worthless representatives of the people, and would no longer deserve the confidence of their constituents. Whatever might be thought of supervisors of elections the course of the Republican party in regard to special deputy marshals had been one of the grossest outrages on decent and fair elections that had ever been committed.

THE REPUBLICAN ATTITUDE.

“ Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, opposed the report, and laid down the position occupied by the Republican side on this question. The bill went beyond making appropriations and proposed to prevent the executive authority of the Government from enforcing the law. The issue was narrowed down to this point—the majority avowed its determination that marshals, deputy marshals, and assistant marshals shall not be appointed to execute the laws as embodied in title 26 of the Revised Statutes, and confessed that the clause in the conference report was intended and devised for that purpose. That made a square issue, which everybody could understand. The other side did not like the law, but it should have proposed to amend it so as to correct the abuses complained of. The Republican side of the House was willing to offer or to accept an amendment placing the appointment of deputy marshals and assistant marshals (where that of the supervisors is) in the courts. That would be in the direction of legislation to cure the evil complained of. The other side, for want of a two-thirds majority, could not constitutionally repeal the law and therefore, not being able to repeal it, it wished to prevent the execution of the

law. It was necessary that the courts should be open to all suitors, that justice should be done in every district, that prisoners should have a speedy trial. And so the other side segregated from all the other appropriations of the year that for the judicial expenses of the Government, and it held out the bill for judicial expenses in one hand and said, not to the minority alone but to all the officers of the nation, 'Take this money; but you can only have it on condition that we shall be permitted to couple with it a provision that certain laws, which we cannot repeal, shall not be enforced; that for the coming year they shall be nullified.

POSITION OF THE PRESIDENT.

"See the attitude in which this bill puts the President of the United States. It puts him absolutely between two fires—the fire of your law on the one side, and the fire of heaven and his oath on the other.

"Mr. McMahan, of Ohio.—How is the President at all interfered with.

"Mr. Garfield.—The President has taken an oath that he shall see to it that the laws be faithfully executed. You do not repeal this law, but you make it impossible for him to execute it without his running in danger, on the one hand, of your impeaching him, or, on the other hand, without neglecting his duty and violating his oath. Now, I take it that no President of the United States can allow himself to be put in that attitude. The wisdom of the old writer of Proverbs, 'Surely in vain the net is spread in the sight of any bird,' is quite likely to apply in this case. I do not see that there is the slightest

probability that you can catch the President in this net, or that he will allow himself to be put in a position where he will be compelled to decide between obeying his oath and the constitution on the one hand, and obeying this entangling law on the other hand.

During the summer and fall of 1879, General Garfield delivered a number of speeches in the West. At the twenty-fifth reunion of the Western Republicans, held at Madison, in July, 1879, he spoke as follows :

“This vast assembly must have richly enjoyed the review of the party’s history presented here and celebrated here to-day, and not only a review of the past, but the hopeful promises made for the future of that great party. The Republican party, organized a quarter of a century ago, was made a necessity to carry out the pledges of the fathers that this should be a land of liberty.

“There was in the early days of the Republic, a Republican party that dedicated this very territory, and all our vast territory, to freedom ; that promised much for schools ; that abolished imprisonment for debt, and that instituted many wise reforms. But there were many conservatives in those days, whose measures degenerated into treason ; and the Republican party of to-day was but the revival of the Republican party of seventy years ago, under new and broader conditions of usefulness.

“It is well to remember and honor the greatest names of the Republican party. One of these is Joshua R. Giddings, who for twenty years was freedom’s champion in Congress, and, from a feeble minority of two, lived to see a Republican Speaker elected, and himself to

conduct him to the chair. Another is Abraham Lincoln, the man raised up by God for a great mission. No man ever had a truer appreciation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, that great charter which it was the mission of the Republican party to enforce.

“There was a fitness in the first platform of the Wisconsin Republicans that they based themselves upon the Declaration of Independence. While the Republicans, from the first, have been true to their principles, perfecting all they promised, as proved to-day by the whole record, the Democrats, on the other hand, steadily wrong, have been forced from one bad position to another.

“Can any Democrat point with pride to his party platforms of 1854, or find in them any living issue? The issues they then presented led us into war and involved us in a great national debt. Looking for the cause of that debt, I say that the Democratic party caused it.

“We are, as a nation, emerging from difficulties, and the Republican party alone can probably claim that the brightest page of our country’s history has been written by the true friends of freedom and progress. The Republican party has yet work to do. We are confronted to-day in Congress by nearly the same spirit that prevailed in the years just before the war.

“They tell us that the National Government is but the servant of the States; that we shall not interpose, as a nation, to guard an honest election in a State; that if we will interpose they will deny appropriations. Is this less dangerous than their position in 1861? Have we no interest except in local elections, no power to guard the ballot box and protect ourselves against outrages

upon it? Why does the South make this issue? I answer: They have a solid South, and only used to carry Ohio and New York to elect the President, and they trust to carry these States by the means they best know how to use.

“There are sentimentalists and optimists who may see no danger in this. There had been sentimentalists and optimists in the Republican party, but to-day all were stalwarts. President Hayes, when he came into office, was an optimist, but he saw all his hopes, conciliation frustrated, and all his advances met with scorn. We all now stand together on the issue as one.”

At the Andersonville Reunion, at Toledo, Ohio, on the 3d of October, 1879, General Garfield said:

“My Comrades, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have addressed a great many audiences, but I never before stood in the presence of one that I felt so wholly unworthy to speak to. A man who came through the war without being shot or made prisoner is almost out of place in such an assemblage as this.

“While I have listened to you this evening, I have remembered the words of the distinguished Englishman who once said, ‘that he was willing to die for his country.’ Now, to say that a man is willing to die for his country is a good deal, but these men who sit before us have said a great deal more than that. I would like to know where the man is that would calmly step out on the platform and say, ‘I am ready to starve to death for my country.’ That is an enormous thing to say, but there is a harder thing than that. Find a man, if you can, who will walk out before this audience and

say, 'I am willing to become an idiot for my country.' How many men could you find who would volunteer to become idiots for their country? .

"Now, let me make this statement to you, fellow-citizens: One hundred and eighty-eight thousand such men as this were captured by the rebels who were fighting our Government. One hundred and eighty-eight thousand! How many is that. They tell me there are 4,500 men and women in this building to-night! Multiply this mighty audience by forty and you will have about 188,000. Forty times this great audience were prisoners of war to the enemies of our country. And to every man of that enormous company there stood open night and day the offer: 'If you will join the rebel army, and lift up your hand against your flag, you are free.'

"A voice.—'That's so.'

"General Garfield.—'And you shall have food, and you shall have clothing, and you shall see wife, and mother, and child.'

"A voice.—'We didn't do it, though.'

"General.—And do you know that out of that 188,000 there were less than 3,000 who accepted the offer? And of those 3,000, perhaps nine-tenths of them did it with the mental reservation that they would desert at the first hour—the first moment there was an opportunity.

"Voices.—'That's so.'

"General Garfield.—But 185,000 out of the 188,000 said: 'No! not to see wife again; not to see child again; not to avoid starvation; not to avoid idiocy; not

to avoid the most loathsome of deaths, will I lift this hand against my country forever.' Now, we praise the ladies for their patriotism; we praise our good citizens at home for their patriotism; we praise the gallant soldiers who fought and fell. But what were all these things compared with that yonder? I bow in reverence. I would stand with unsandaled feet in the presence of such heroism and such suffering; and I would say to you, fellow-citizens, such an assemblage as this has never yet before met on this great earth.

"Who have reunions? I will not trench upon forbidden ground, but let me say this: Nothing on the earth and under the sky can call men together for reunions except ideas that have immortal truth and immortal life in them. The animals fight. Lions and tigers fight as ferociously as did you. Wild beasts tear to the death, but they never have reunions. Why? Because wild beasts do not fight for ideas. They merely fight for blood.

"All these men, and all their comrades went out inspired by two immortal ideas.

"First, that liberty shall be universal in America.

"And, second, that this old flag is the flag of a Nation, and not of a State; that the Nation is supreme over all people and all corporations.

"Call it a State; call it a section; call it a South; call it a North; call it anything you wish, and yet, armed with the nationality that God gave us, this is a Nation against all State sovereignty and secession whatever. It is the immortality of that truth that makes these reunions, and that makes this one. You believed

it on the battle-field, you believed it in the hell of Andersonville, and you believe it to-day, thank God; and you will believe it to the last gasp.

“Voices—‘Yes, we will,’ ‘That’s so,’ etc.

“General Garfield.—Well, now, fellow-citizens and fellow-soldiers—but I am not worthy to be your fellow in this work,—I thank you for having asked me to speak to you. [Cries of ‘Go on!’ ‘Go on!’ ‘Talk to us more, etc.]

“I want to say simply that I have had one opportunity only to do you any service. I did hear a man who stood by my side in the halls of the legislation—the man that offered on the floor of Congress the resolution that any man who commanded colored troops should be treated as a pirate and not as a soldier; as a slave-stealer and not as a soldier—I heard that man calmly say, with his head up in the light, in the presence of this American people, that the Union soldiers were as well treated, and as kindly treated in all the Southern prisons as were the rebel soldiers in all the Northern prisons.

“Voices.—‘Liar!’ ‘Liar!’ ‘He was a liar!’

“General Garfield.—I heard him declare that no kinder men ever lived than General Winder and his Commander-in-Chief, Jeff. Davis. [Yells of derision, hisses, etc.] And I took it upon myself to overwhelm him with the proof [a roll of applause begins], with the proof of the tortures you suffered, the wrongs done to you, were suffered and done with the knowledge of the Confederate authorities from Jefferson Davis down—[great applause, waving of hats, veterans standing in their chairs and cheering]—that it was a part of their policy to make you

idiots and skeletons, and to exchange your broken and shattered bodies and dethroned minds for strong, robust, well-fed rebel prisoners. That policy, I affirm, has never had its parallel for atrocity in the civilized world."

"Voice.—'That's so.'

"General Garfield.—It was never heard of in any land since the dark ages closed upon the earth. While history lives men have memories. We can forgive and forget all other things before we can forgive and forget this.

"Finally, and in conclusion, I am willing, for one—and I think I speak for thousands of others—I am willing to see all the bitterness of the late war buried in the grave of our dead. I would be willing that we should imitate the condescending, loving-kindness of him who planted the green grass on the battle-fields and let the fresh flowers bloom on all the graves alike. I would clasp hands with those who fought against us, make them my brethren, and forgive all the past, only on one supreme condition: that it be admitted in practice, acknowledged in theory, that the cause for which we fought, and you suffered, was and is, and for evermore will be right, eternally right." [Unbounded enthusiasm.]

"Voices.—'That's it,' 'That's so,' etc.

"General Garfield.—That the cause for which they fought was, and forever will be, the cause of treason and wrong. [Prolonged applause.] Until that is acknowledged my hand shall never grasp any rebel's hand across any chasm, however small." [Great applause and cheers]

General Garfield took an active part in the campaign in Ohio in the fall of 1879, which returned a Republican

legislature, and ensured the election of a United States senator of the same political faith.

The new Legislature of Ohio assembled in January, 1880, and at once proceeded to the election of a United States senator to succeed Allen G. Thurman, whose term would expire on the 3d of March, 1881. General Garfield was placed in nomination by his friends. Ex-Senator Stanley Matthews, ex-Attorney-General Alphonso Taft, and ex-Governor William Denison had also entered into a canvass for the place, but by the time the caucus met the general sentiment of the State was so earnest and enthusiastic in favor of Garfield that his three competitors withdrew without waiting for a ballot, and he was nominated unanimously by a rising vote. On the 15th of January he was elected United States Senator by a majority of 22 in the Assembly, and 7 in the Senate.

On the same day General Garfield arrived in Columbus from Washington, and in the evening a reception was given to him in the hall of the House of Representatives, in the State capitol. He was introduced by Governor Foster, and after some hand-shaking, spoke as follows :

“ Fellow-citizens : I should be a great deal more than a man, or a great deal less than a man, if I were not extremely gratified by the many marks of kindness you have shown me in recent days. I did not expect any such meeting as this. I knew there was a greeting awaiting me, but did not expect so cordial, generous, and general a greeting, without distinction of party, without distinction of interests, as I have received to-night. And you will allow me, in a moment or two, to speak of the memories this chamber awakens.

“Twenty years ago this last week I first entered this chamber and entered upon the duties of public life, in which I have been every hour since that time in some capacity or other. I left this chamber eighteen years ago, and I believe I have never entered it since that time. But the place is familiar, though it was not peopled with the faces that I see before me here to-night alone, but with the faces of hundreds of people that I knew here twenty years ago, a large number of whom are gone from earth.

“It was here in this chamber that the word was first brought of the firing on Fort Sumter. I remember distinctly a gentleman from Lancaster, the late Senator Schleigh—General Schleigh, who died not very long ago—I remember distinctly as he came down this aisle, with all the look of agony and anxiety in his face, informing us that the guns had opened upon Sumter. I remember that one week after that time, on motion of a leading Democratic senator, who occupied a seat not far from that position (pointing to the Democratic side of the chamber), that we surrendered this chamber to several companies of soldiers who had come to Columbus to tender their services to the imperilled Government. They slept on its carpets and on these sofas, and quartered for two or three nights in this chamber while waiting for other quarters outside the capitol.

“All the early scenes of the war are associated with this place in my mind. Here were the musterings—here was the centre, the nerve centre, of anxiety and agony. Here over 80,000 Ohio citizens tendered their services in the course of three weeks to the imperilled nation. Here, where we had been fighting our political battles with sharp

and severe partisanship, there disappeared, almost as if by magic, all party lines; and from both sides of the chamber men went out to take their places on the field of battle. I can see now, as I look out over the various seats, where sat men who afterward became distinguished in the service in high rank, and nobly served their constituencies and honored themselves.

“We now come to this place, while so many are gone; but we meet here to-night with the war so far back in the distance that it is an almost half-forgotten memory. We meet here to-night with a nation redeemed. We meet here to-night under the flag we fought for. We meet with a glorious, a great and growing Republic, made greater and more glorious by the sacrifices through which the country has passed. And coming here as I do to-night, brings the two ends of twenty years together, with all the visions of the terrible and glorious, the touching and cheerful, that have occurred during that time.

“I came here to-night, fellow-citizens, to thank this General Assembly for their great act of confidence and compliment to me. I do not undervalue the office that you have tendered to me yesterday and to-day; but I say, I think, without any mental reservation, that the manner in which it was tendered to me is far higher to me, far more desirable, than the thing itself. That it has been a voluntary gift of the General Assembly of Ohio, without solicitation, tendered to me because of their confidence, is as touching and as high a tribute as one man can receive from his fellow-citizens, and in the name of all my friends, for myself, I give you my thanks.

“I recognize the importance of the place to which you have elected me; and I should be base if I did not also recognize the great man whom you have elected me to succeed. I say for him, Ohio has had few larger-minded, broader-minded men in the records of our history than that of Allen G. Thurman. Differing widely from him as I have done in politics, and do, I recognize him as a man high in character and great in intellect; and I take this occasion to refer to what I have never before referred to in public: that many years ago, in the storm of party fighting, when the air was filled with all sorts of missiles aimed at the character and reputation of public men, when it was even for his party interest to join the general clamor against me and my associates, Senator Thurman said in public, in the campaign, on the stump—when men are as likely to say unkind things as at any place in the world—a most generous and earnest word of defence and kindness for me, which I shall never forget so long as I live. I say, moreover, that the flowers that bloom over the garden-wall of party politics are the sweetest and most fragrant that bloom in the gardens of this world; and where we can fairly pluck them and enjoy their fragrance, it is manly and delightful to do so.

“And now, gentlemen of the General Assembly, without distinction of party, I recognize this tribute and compliment paid to me to-night. Whatever my own course may be in the future, a large share of the inspiration of my future public life will be drawn from this occasion and these surroundings, and I shall feel anew the sense of obligation that I feel to the State of

Ohio. Let me venture to point a single sentence in regard to that work. During the twenty years that I have been in public life, almost eighteen of it in the Congress of the United States, I have tried to do one thing. Whether I was mistaken or otherwise, it has been the plan of my life to follow my conviction at whatever personal cost to myself.

“I have represented for many years a district in Congress, whose approbation I greatly desired; but though it may seem, perhaps, a little egotistical to say it, I yet desired still more the approbation of one person, and his name was Garfield. He is the only man that I am compelled to sleep with, and eat with, and live with, and die with; and if I could not have his approbation I should have had companionship. And in this larger constituency which has called me to represent them now, I can only do what is true to my best self, applying the same rule.

“And if I should be so unfortunate as to lose the confidence of this larger constituency, I must do what every other fair-minded man has to do—carry his political life in his hand and would take the consequences. But I must follow what seems to me to be the only safe rule of my life; and with that view of the case, and with that much personal reference, I leave that subject.

“Thanking you again, fellow-citizens, members of the General Assembly, Republicans as well as Democrats—all party men as I am—thanking you both for what you have done and for this cordial and manly greeting, I bid you good-night.”

On the day of General Garfield's election to the Sen-

ate, President Hinsdale, of Hiram College, made the following announcement to the students of that institution :

“To-day a man will be elected to the United States Senate in Columbus, who, when a boy, was once the bell-ringer in this school and afterward its president. Feeling this, we ought, in some way, to recognize this step in his history. I will to-morrow morning call your attention to some of the more notable and worthy features of General Garfield’s history and character.”

The address which President Hinsdale delivered on the occasion is as follows :

“YOUNG LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I am not going to attempt a formal address on the life and character of General Garfield. There is now no call for such an attempt, and I have made no adequate preparations for such a task. My object is far humbler: simply to hold up to your minds some points in his history, and some features in his character that young men and women may study with interest and profit.

“I shall begin by destroying history, or what is commonly held to be history. The popularly accepted account of General Garfield’s history and character is largely fabulous. We are not to suppose that the ages of myth and legend are gone; under proper conditions such growths spring up now, and I know of no man in public life around whom they have sprung up more rankly than around the subject of my remarks.

“No doubt you have seen some of the stories concerning him and his family that appear ever and anon in the newspapers; that his mother chopped cordwood; that

she fought wolves with fire to keep them from devouring her children, her distinguished son being one of the group; that the circumstances of the family were most pinching; that Garfield himself could not read at the age of twenty-one; that he was peculiarly reckless in his early life; that, when he had become a man, he went down from the pulpit to thrash a bully who interrupted him in his sermon on the patience of Job.

“These stories, and others like them, are all false and all harmful. They fail of accomplishing the very purpose for which they were professedly told—the stimulation of youth. To make the lives of the great distorted and monstrous is not to make them fruitful as lessons.

“If a life be anomalous and outlandish, it is, for that reason, the poorer example. It is all in the wrong direction. It makes the impression that, in human history, there is no cause and no effect; no antecedent and no consequent; that everything is capricious and fitful; and suggests that the best thing to do is to abandon one’s self to the currents of life, trusting that some beneficent gulf-stream will seize you and bear you to some happy shore. No, young people, do not heed such instruction as this.

“The best lives for them to study are those that are natural and symmetrical; those in which the relation between cause and effect is so close and apparent that the dullest can see it; and that preach in the plainest terms the sermon on the text: ‘Whatever a man soweth that shall he also reap.’

“Irregular and abnormal lives will do for ‘studies,’ but healthy, normal, harmonious lives should be chosen for example. And General Garfield’s life from the first

has been eminently healthy, normal, and well-proportioned.

“He was born in the woods of Orange, Cuyahoga County, in 1831. His father died when the son was a year and a half old. Abram Garfield’s circumstances were those of his neighbors. Measured by our standard they were all poor; they lived on small farms, for which they had gone in debt, hoping to clear and pay for them by their toil. Garfield dying, left his wife and four young children in the condition that any one of his neighbors would have done in like circumstances—poor. The family life before had been close and hard enough; now it became closer and harder.

“Grandma Garfield, as some of us familiarly call her, was a woman of unusual energy, faith, and courage. She said the children should not be separated, but kept them together; and that the home should be maintained, as when its head was living. The battle was a hard one, and she won it. All honor to her, but let us not make her ridiculous by inventing impossible stories.

“To external appearance, young Garfield’s life did not differ materially from the lives of the neighbors’ boys.

“He chopped wood, and so did they; he mowed, and so did they; he carried butter to the store in a little pail, and so did they. Other families that had not lost their heads naturally shot ahead of the Garfields in property; but such differences counted far less then than they do now. The traits of his maturer character appeared early; studiousness, truthfulness, generosity of nature, and mental power. So far was he from being reckless, that he was almost serious, reverent, and thoughtful. So far was

he from being unable to read at twenty-one, that he was a teacher in the district schools before he was eighteen.

“He was the farthest removed from being a pugilist, though he had great physical strength and courage, coolness of mind, was left-handed withal, and was both able and disposed to defend himself and all his rights, and did so on due occasion.

“His three months’ service on the canal has been the source of numerous fables and morals. The morals are as false as the fables, and more misleading. All I have to say about it is: James A. Garfield has not risen to the position of a United States Senator because he ‘ran on a canal.’ Nor is it because he chopped more wood than the neighbors’ boys. Many a man has run longer on the canal, and chopped more wood, and never became a senator.

“General Garfield once rang the school bell when a student here. That did not make him the man he is. Convince me that it did, and I will hang up a bell in every tree in the campus, and set you all to ringing. Thomas Corwin, when a boy, drove a wagon, and became the head of the Treasury; Thomas Ewing boiled salt, and became a senator; Henry Clay rode a horse to mill from the ‘Slashes,’ and he became the great commoner of the West. But it was not the wagon, the salt, and horse that made these men great.

“These are interesting facts in the lives of these illustrious men; they show, that in our country it has been, and still is possible for young men of ability, energy, and determined purpose to rise above a lowly condition, and win places of usefulness and honor. Poverty

may be a good school; straitened circumstances may develop power and character; but the principal conditions of success are in the man, and not in his surroundings.

“Garfield is the man he is because nature gave him a noble endowment of faculties that he has nobly handled. We must look within, and not without, for the secret of destiny. The thing to look at in a man’s life are his aspirations, his energy, his courage, his strength of will, and not the wood he may have chopped, or the salt he may have boiled. How a man works, and not what he does, is the test of worth.

“His success did not lie in his technical scholarship, or his ability as a drill-master. Teachers are plenty who much surpass him in these particulars. He had great ability to grasp a subject, to organize a body of intellectual materials, to amass facts and work out striking generalizations, and therefore he excelled in rhetorical exposition. An old pupil who has often heard him on the stump, once told me, ‘The General succeeds best when talking to the people just as he did to his class.’ He imparted to his pupils largeness of view, enthusiasm, and called out of them unbounded devotion to himself.

“This devotion was not owing to any plan or trick, but to the qualities of the man. Mr. H. M. Jones, of the Cleveland schools, an old Hiram scholar, speaking of the old Hiram days before Garfield went to college, once wrote me: ‘There began to grow up in me an admiration and love for Garfield that has never abated, and the like of which I have never known. A bow of recognition, or a simple word from him, was to me an inspiration.’

“Probably all were not equally susceptible, but all the boys who were long under his charge (save perhaps, a few ‘sticks’), would speak in the same strain. He had great power to energize young men. General Garfield has carried the same qualities into public life. He has commanded success. His ability, knowledge, mastery of questions, generosity of nature, devotion to the public good, and honesty of purpose, have done the work. He has never had a political ‘machine.’ He has never forgotten the day of small things. He has never made personal enemies.

“It is difficult to see how a political triumph could be more complete or more gratifying than his election to the Senate. No ‘bar-bains,’ no ‘slate,’ no ‘grocery’ at Columbus. He did not even go to the capital city. Such things are inspiring to those who think politics in a broad way. He is a man of positive convictions, freely uttered. Politically he may be called a ‘man-of-war;’ and yet few men, or none, begrudge him his triumph. Democrats vied with Republicans the other day in Washington in snowing him under with congratulations; some of them were as anxious for his election as any Republican could be.

“It is said that he will go to the Senate without an enemy on either side of the chamber. These things are honorable to all parties. They show that manhood is more than party. The Senator is honored, Ohio is honored, and so is the school in Hiram, with which he was connected so many years. The whole story abounds in interest, and I hope I have so told it as to bring out some of its best points, and to give you stimulus and cheer.”

General Garfield took an active part in the regular session of the forty-sixth Congress, which met in December, 1879, and on the 17th of March, 1880, delivered one of his most powerful speeches. The Civil Appropriation Bill was under discussion, and the Democratic majority was endeavoring to force the Government into removing the United States marshals from the polls at elections, by refusing the appropriation for the pay of those officers. General Garfield said :

“ The discussion of this bill has concentrated upon two topics—the public printing and the election laws. On the subject of the public printing I shall take no time, except to say this : After one of the saddest histories in the experience of this Government with the old contract system, which broke down by the weight of its own corruption, it was developed and proved beyond any controversy that in the four years preceding the administration of Abraham Lincoln, out of the private profits on the public printing and binding, the sum of \$100,000 was contributed by the public printer for political purposes, mainly to carry the Democratic elections in Pennsylvania; and that vast contribution did not exhaust the profits of the public printer out of the Government. This exposure destroyed the wretched contract system, and thereafter the Government itself assumed the responsibility of the work. At first the Senate or the House of Representatives elected a Printer, as they had a manifest right to do under the clause of the Constitution which gives each House the power to elect its own officers. But when, by and by, the office grew into a great national establishment, in which all the printing and binding for

all departments of the Government was done, it became manifest that the Senate was exercising a power of appointment unwarranted by the Constitution; and in the year 1874, on motion of Mr. Hale, of New York, a resolution was adopted by a two-thirds vote suspending the rules of the House and making in order on a sundry civil service appropriation bill an amendment to change the law and make the Printer an officer of the United States, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. I had charge of that bill and voted for the amendment, as did nearly all my associates, and it was adopted by the almost unanimous vote of this House, both parties uniting in declaring that the old law was unconstitutional, and that experience had proved it unwise; Republicans taking their share of responsibility for their own blunders and mistakes; all agreeing that the law ought to conform to the Constitution.

“When the Democratic party came into power in 1876, they amended that law by making it take effect immediately. We made it take effect when a vacancy should occur in the office of Public Printer. In 1876 the law was so changed as to make it take effect immediately. And that passed by the general consent of both parties. The proposition now is, to go back, and in the face of our past experience, make a change in this law which will not affect in any way the question of economy, which will not change one iota of the machinery of the management of the public printing, and does not pretend to be in the direction of economy; but merely abolishes a constitutional office and creates an unconstitutional one, takes the appointing power out of the hands of the President and

unlawfully places it in the hands of this House, merely to get some Democrat into office. This is to be done for no public good, to satisfy the demands of party hunger. I have no doubt that this amendment will be, as it certainly ought to be, ruled out of order, and I will waste no further words in discussing it.

CONTEMNING THE SUPREME COURT DECISION.

“I will now call attention, during the short time left me, to what I consider a matter of far greater moment. My colleague [Mr. McMahan], in his speech opening the discussion upon this bill, made the announcement in substance, and it remains uncontradicted and not protested against by anyone on this side of the House, first, that ‘we have not hitherto made, do not in this bill, and will not in any future bill, make any appropriation whatever for supervisors or special deputy marshals, so far as they have to do with congressional elections.’ He asserts that it was not proper for any officer of the Government to appoint special deputy marshals when no appropriation had been made for that specific purpose.

“Then, further on, he declares—I quote from his printed speech :

“‘And I desire to say that because the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the election law is constitutional by a sort of eight-by-seven decision—and I mean by that a division apparently according to party lines (without impugning the good faith of any member of the Supreme Court, but to show how differently a legal

question may appear to persons who have been educated in different political schools)—that although that court has decided the constitutionality of the law, that when we come, as legislators, to appropriate money, it is our duty to say, is this law constitutional? or, if constitutional, is it a good law, and are we bound to appropriate money for it?’

“He undertakes, as will be seen, to throw contempt on that decision by styling it ‘a sort of eight-by-seven decision.’ I remind him that it is a seven-to-two decision, having been adopted by a larger number of the members of the court than the majority of the decisions of that tribunal. It is a decision of a broad, sweeping character, and declares that Congress may take the whole control of congressional elections, or a partial control, as they choose; that the election law as it stands on the national statute-book is the supreme law of the land on that subject.

“More than that: the Supreme Court, not only in this case but in another recent case, has made a declaration which ought to be engraven upon the minds and hearts of all the people of this country. And this is its substance :

“‘That a law of Congress interpenetrates and becomes a part of every law of every State of this Union to which its subject matter is applicable, and is binding upon all people on every foot of our soil. This is the voice of the Constitution.’

“Now, therefore, under this decision the election laws of the United States are the laws of every State of this Union. No judge of election, no State officer or other

persons connected with any congressional election, no elector who offers his ballot at any such election, can with impunity lift his hand or do any act against any of the provisions of these laws. They rest down upon congressional elections upon every State like the 'casing air,' broad and general, protecting with their dignity every act, and penetrating with their authority every function of congressional elections. They are the supreme law of the land on that subject.

"But now a Representative, speaking for the Democratic party in this House, rises, not with the plea which he could have made with some show of plausibility last year, that the law is unconstitutional, and that therefore they would not enforce it—but with a constitutional law, declared so by the Supreme Court, covering him and filling the Republic from end to end, reaching everywhere and covering every foot of our soil where a congressional election can be held—he rises in his place and declares that the Democratic party will not execute that law nor permit it to be obeyed.

"We who are the sworn law-makers of the nation, and ought to be examples of respect for and obedience to the law—we who before we took our first step in legislation swore before God and our country that we would support the supreme law of the land—we are now invited to become conspicuous leaders in the violation of the law. My colleague announces his purpose to break the law, and invites Congress to follow him in his assault upon it.

"Mr. Chairman, by far the most formidable danger that threatens the Republic to-day is the spirit of law-

breaking which shows itself in many turbulent and alarming manifestations. The people of the Pacific Coast, after two years of wrestling with the spirit of communism in the city of San Francisco, have finally grappled with this lawless spirit, and the leader of it was yesterday sentenced to penal servitude as a violator of the law. But what can we say to Dennis Kearney and his associates if to-day we announce ourselves the foremost law-breakers of the country and set an example to all the turbulent and vicious elements of disorder to follow us?

THE ELECTION LAWS MANDATORY.

“My colleague [Mr. McMahon] tries to shield his violation of the law behind a section of the statutes which provides that no disbursing or other officer shall make any contract involving the expenditure of money beyond what is appropriated for the purpose. I answer that I hold in my hand a later law, a later statute, which governs the restrictive law of which he speaks, which governs him and governs the courts. It is the election law itself. I invite attention briefly to its substance. Sections 2011 and 2012 of the Revised Statutes provide that upon the application of any two citizens of any city of more than twenty thousand inhabitants to have the election guarded and scrutinized, the judge of the circuit court of the United States shall hold his court open during the ten days preceding the election. The law commands the judge of the court to so do.

“In the open court from day to day, and from time to time, the judge shall appoint, and, under the seal of

the court, shall commission two citizens of different political parties who are voters within the precinct where they reside, to be supervisors of the election. That law is mandatory upon the judge. Should he refuse to obey he can be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors in office. He must not stop to inquire whether an appropriation has been made to pay these supervisors. The rights of citizens are involved; upon their application the judge must act. But what then?

“Again, section 2021 provides that on the application of two citizens the marshal of the United States shall appoint special deputy marshals to protect the supervisors in the execution of their duty. And the law is mandatory upon the marshal. He must obey it under the pains and penalties of the law. What then? When the supervisors and special deputy marshals have been appointed they find their duties plainly prescribed in the law. And then section 5521 provides that if they neglect or refuse to perform fully all these duties enjoined upon them, they are liable to fine and imprisonment. They cannot excuse their neglect by saying, ‘We will not act because Congress has not appropriated the money to pay us.’

“All these officers are confronted by the imperial command of the law—first to the judge and marshal to appoint, then to the supervisor and deputy marshal to act, and to act under the pains and penalties of fine and imprisonment. Impeachment enforces the obedience of the judge; fine and imprisonment the obedience of the supervisors and deputy marshals.

“Now comes one other mandatory order: in the last

section of this long chapter of legislation the majestic command of the law is addressed both to Congress and the Treasury. It declares that there 'shall be paid' out of the treasury five dollars per day to these officers as compensation for their services. Here, too, the law is equally imperious and mandatory; it addresses itself to the conscience of every member of this House, with only this difference: we cannot be impeached for disobedience; we cannot be fined or locked up in the penitentiary for voting 'no,' and refusing the appropriation; we cannot be fined or imprisoned if we refuse to do our duty. And so, shielded by the immunity of his privilege as a representative, my colleague sets the example to all officers and all people of deliberately and with clear-sighted purpose violating the law of the land.

"Thus he seeks to nullify the law. Thus he hopes to thwart the nation's 'collected will.' Does my colleague reflect that in doing this he runs the risk of vitiating every national election? Suppose his lead be followed, and the demand of citizens for supervisors and marshals is made and refused because an appropriation has not been voted. Does he not see the possibility of vitiating every election held where fraud and violence are not suppressed and the law has not been complied with? Yet he would risk the validity of all the congressional elections of the United States; rather than abandon his party's purpose he would make Congress the chief of the law breakers of the land.

"Mr. Chairman, when I took my seat as a member of this House, I took it with all the responsibilities which the place brought upon me; and among others was my

duty to keep the obligations of the law. Where the law speaks in mandatory terms to everybody else and then to me, I should deem it cowardly and dishonorable if I should skulk behind my legislative privilege for the purpose of disobeying and breaking the supreme law of the land. [Applause.]

THE PRESENT ISSUE.

“The issue now made is somewhat different from that of the last session, but, in my judgment, it is not less significant and dangerous. I would gladly waive any party advantage which this controversy might give for the sake of that calm and settled peace which would reign in this hall if we all obeyed the law. But if the leaders on the other side are still determined to rush upon their fate by forcing upon the country this last issue—that because the Democratic party happen not to like a law they will not obey it—because they happen not to approve of the spirit and character of a law they will not let it be executed—I say to gentlemen on the other side, if you are determined to make such an issue, it is high time that the American people should know it.

“Here is the volume of our laws. More sacred than the twelve tables of Rome, this rock of the law rises in monumental grandeur alike above the people and the President, above the courts, above Congress, commanding everywhere reverence and obedience to its supreme authority. Yet the dominant party in this House virtually declares that ‘any part of this volume that we do

not like and cannot repeal we will disobey. We have tried to repeal these election laws; we have failed because we had not the constitutional power to destroy them. The Constitution says they shall stand in their authority and power; but we, the Democratic party in defiance of the Constitution, declare that if we cannot destroy them outright by the repeal, they shall be left to crumble into ruin by wanton and lawless neglect.'

"Mr. Chairman.—I ask gentlemen on the other side whether they wish to maintain this attitude in regard to the legislation of this country? Are they willing to start on a hunt through the statutes and determine for themselves what they will obey and what they will disobey? That is the meaning of my colleague's speech. If it means anything it means that. He is not an old Brandenburg elector, but an elector in this novel and modern sense, that he will elect what laws he will obey and what he will disobey, and in so far as his power can go, he will infect with his spirit of disobedience all the good people of this country who trust him.

THE DANGER OF EXAMPLE OF DISOBEDIENCE.

"I ask, gentlemen, whether this is a time when it is safe to disregard and weaken the authority of law. In all quarters the civil society of this country is becoming honey-combed through and through by disintegrating forces—in some States by the violation of contracts and the repudiation of debts; in others by open resistance and defiance; in still others by the reckless overturning of con-

stitutions and letting 'the red fool-fury of the Seine' run riot among our people and build its blazing altars to the strange gods of ruin and misrule. All these things are shaking the good order of society and threatening the foundations of our government and our peace. In a time like this, more than ever before, this country needs a body of law-givers clothed and in their right minds, who have laid their hands upon the altar of the law as its defenders, not its destroyers. And yet now, in the name of party, for some supposed party advantage, my colleague from Ohio announces, and no one on his side has said him nay, that they not only have not in the past obeyed, but in the future they will not obey this law of the land which the Supreme Court has just crowned with the authority of its sanction. If my colleague chooses to meet that issue, if he chooses to go to the country with that plea, I shall regret it deeply for my country's sake; but if I looked only to my party's interest, it would give me joy to engage in such a struggle.

"The contest of last autumn made the people understand the tendencies of gentlemen on the other side. Now, this cool, calm, deliberate assassination of the law will not be tolerated. We have had a winter to freeze out our passion, we have had a summer to thaw out our indifference, we have had the changing circles of the year to bring us around to order and calmness, and yet all the fiery courses of the stars seem to have shed their influence on my colleague to fire him with a more desperate madness and drive his party on to a still sadder fate. [Applause on the Republican side.]

"I trust and believe that we may yet find some re-

sponse from the other side of the House that will prevent this course of procedure. If we do, I will gladly give away any party advantage for the sake of strengthening the foundations of law and good order. And I therefore appeal to gentlemen on the other side to prevent a disaster which their party leaders are preparing, not for themselves alone, but for our common country. I hope before this day is over we may see such a vote in this chamber upon this bill as will put an end to this miserable business, and cast out of these halls the dregs of that unfortunate and crazy extra session." [Applause on the Republican side.]

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S FINANCIAL RECORD.

General Garfield's Appointment to the Committee on Banking and Currency—His Efforts in Congress in behalf of Honest Money—A Formal Statement of his Views on the Money Question—The Currency Doctrine of 1862—Definition of Money—Money as an Instrument of Exchange—Coin as an Instrument of Universal Credit—Statutes cannot Repeal the Laws of Value—Paper Money as an Instrument of Credit—Necessity of Resumption—A Powerful Argument—General Garfield's Speech on the Weaver Resolutions.

IN 1868, General Garfield was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency, and during the same Congress did most of the hard work on the Ninth Census. His financial views, always sound, and based on the firm foundation of honest money and unsullied national honor, had now become strengthened by his studies and investigations, and he was recognized as the best authority in the House on the great subjects of the debt and the currency. His record in the legislation concerning these subjects is without a flaw. No man in Congress made a more consistent and unwavering fight against the paper money delusions that flourished during the decade following the war, and in favor of specie payments and the strict fulfilment of the nation's obligations to its creditors. His speeches became the financial gospel of the Republican party. No man gave more ar-

dent and useful support to the policy of resuming specie payments, and no man in Congress contributed more in bringing it about.

One of the most carefully prepared expressions of his views on the financial question was contributed by him to *The Atlantic Monthly*, in February, 1876. It is a paper of the highest importance, and we give it in full. He styles it "The Currency Conflict," and says:

"In the autumn of 1862, I spent several weeks with Secretary Chase, and was permitted to share his studies of the financial questions which were then engrossing his attention. He was preparing to submit to Congress his matured plans for a system of banking and currency to meet the necessities of the war, and this subject formed the chief theme of his conversation. He was specially anxious to work out in his own mind the probable relations of greenbacks to gold, to the five-twenty bonds, to the proposed national bank notes, and to the business of the country.

"One evening the conversation turned on some question relating to the laws of motion, and Mr. Chase asked for a definition of motion. Some one answered 'Matter is inert, spirit alone can move; therefore motion is the Spirit of God made manifest in matter.' The Secretary said, 'If that is a good definition, then legal tender notes must be the devil made manifest in paper; for no man can foresee what mischief they may do when they are once let loose.' He gravely doubted whether that war-born spirit, summoned to serve us in a dreadful emergency, would be mustered out of service with honor when the conflict should end, or, at the return of peace, would cap-

ture public opinion and enslave the nation it had served. To what extent his fears were well founded may be ascertained by comparing the present state of the public mind in regard to the principles of monetary science with that which prevailed when our existing financial machinery was set up.

“ More than a million votes will be cast at the next Presidential election by men who were school-boys in their primers when the great financial measures of 1862 were adopted ; and they do not realize how fast or how far the public mind has drifted. The log-book of this extraordinary voyage cannot be read too often. Let it be constantly borne in mind that fourteen years ago the American people considered themselves well instructed in the leading doctrines of monetary science. They had enjoyed, or rather suffered, an extraordinary experience. There was hardly an experiment in banking and currency that they or their fathers had not fully tested.

THE CURRENCY DOCTRINES OF 1862.

“ The statesmen of that period, the leaders of public thought, and the people of all political parties were substantially unanimous in the opinion that the only safe instrument of exchange known among men was standard coin, or paper convertible into coin at the will of the holder.

“ I will not affirm that this opinion was absolutely unanimous ; for doubtless there was here and there a dreamer who looked upon paper money as a sort of fetich, and was ready to crown it as a god. There are always a

few who believe in the quadrature of the circle and the perpetual motion. I recently met a cultivated American who is a firm believer in Buddha, and rejoices in the hope of attaining Nirvâna beyond the grave. The gods of Greece were discrowned and disowned by the civilized world a thousand years ago; yet within the last generation an eminent English scholar attested his love for classical learning and his devotion to the Greek mythology by actually sacrificing a bull to Jupiter, in the back parlor of his house, in London. So, in 1862, there may have been followers of William Lowndes and of John Law among our people, and here and there a philosopher who dreamed of an ideal standard of value stripped of all the grossness of so coarse and vulgar a substance as gold. But they dwelt apart in silence, and their opinions made scarce a ripple on the current of public thought.

“No one can read the history of that year without observing the great reluctance, the apprehension, the positive dread with which the statesmen and people of that day ventured upon the experiment of making treasury notes a legal tender for private debts. They did it under the pressure of an overmastering necessity, to meet the immediate demands of the war, and with a most determined purpose to return to the old standard at the earliest possible moment. Indeed, the very act that made the greenbacks a legal tender provided the effective means for retiring them.

“Distressing as was the crisis, urgent as was the need, a large number of the best and most patriotic men in Congress voted against the act. The ground of their opposition was well expressed by Owen Lovejoy, of Illi-

nois, who, after acknowledging the unparalleled difficulties and dangers of the situation, said, 'There is no precipice, there is no chasm, there is no possible bottomless, yawning gulf before the nation so appalling, so ruinous, as this same bill that is before us.'

"Of those who supported the measure, not one defended it as a permanent policy. All declared that they did not abate a jot of their faith in the soundness of the old doctrines.

"Thaddeus Stevens said, 'This bill is a measure of necessity, not of choice. No one would willingly issue paper currency not redeemable on demand, and make it a legal tender. It is never desirable to depart from the circulating medium which, by the common consent of civilized nations, forms the standard of value.'

"In the Senate the legal-tender clause was adopted by only five majority. The senators who supported it were keenly alive to its dangerous character. Mr. Fessenden, chairman of the committee of finance, said of the bill, 'It proposes something utterly unknown in this government from its foundation: a resort to a measure of doubtful constitutionality, to say the least of it, which has always been denounced as ruinous to the credit of any government which has recourse to it; . . . a measure which, when it has been tried by other countries, as it often has been, has always proved a disastrous failure.'

"With extreme reluctance he supported the bill, but said the committee was bound 'that an assurance should be given to the country that it was to be resorted to only as a *policy*; that it was what it professed to be, but a *temporary measure*. I have not heard any man ex-

press a contrary opinion, or, at least, any man who has spoken on the subject in Congress. . . . All the gentlemen who have written on the subject, except some wild speculators on currency, have declared that as a policy it would be ruinous to any people; *and it has been defended, as I have stated, simply and solely upon the ground that it is to be a single measure standing alone, and not to be repeated.* . . . It is put upon the ground of *absolute, overwhelming necessity.*

“Mr. Sumner, who supported the bill, said: ‘Surely we must all be against paper money, we must insist upon maintaining the integrity of the Government, and we must all set our faces against any proposition like the present except as a temporary expedient, rendered imperative by the exigency of the hour. . . . A remedy which at another moment you would reject is now proposed. . . . Whatever may be the national resources, they are not now in reach except by summary process. Reluctantly, painfully, I consent that the process should issue. And yet I cannot give such a vote without warning the Government against the dangers from such an experiment. The medicine of the constitution must not become its daily bread.’

“Such was the unanimous sentiment which animated Congress in making its solemn pledge to return to the old path as soon as the immediate danger should pass.

“The close of the war revealed some change of opinion, but the purpose of 1862 was still maintained. December 14, 1865, the House of Representatives resolved—

“That the House cordially concurs in the views of

the Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the necessity of a contraction of the currency with a view to as early a resumption of specie payments as the business interest of the country will permit; and we hereby pledge co-operative action to this end as speedily as practicable.

“ This resolution was adopted on a call of the ayes and noes, by the decisive vote of one hundred and forty-four to six.

“ The last ten years have witnessed such a change of sentiment as seldom occurs in one generation. During that time, we have had a Babel of conflicting theories. Every exploded financial dogma of the last two hundred years has been revived and advocated. Congresses and political parties have been agitated and convulsed by the discussion of old and new schemes to escape from the control of the universal laws of value, and to reach prosperity and wealth without treading the time-worn path of honest industry and solid values. All this recalls Mr. Chase's definition of irredeemable paper money.

“ The great conflict of opinion resulting from this change of sentiment finds expression in the cries of ‘hard money’ and ‘soft money’ which have been so constantly echoed from State to State during the last six months. Following these, as rallying-cries, the people are assembled in hostile political camps, from which they will soon march out to fight the Presidential battle of 1876.

“ The recently invented term ‘soft money’ does not convey a very precise notion of the doctrine it is in-

tended to describe. In fact, it is applied to the doctrines of several distinct groups of theorists, who differ widely among themselves, but who all agree in opposing a return to specie as the basis of our monetary system.

“The scope of these opinions will be seen in the declarations which recent public discussions have brought forth.

(1.) Most of the advocates of soft money deny that political economy is a universal science. They insist that each nation should have a political economy of its own. In pursuance of this opinion, they affirm that our country should have a standard of value peculiar to itself, and a circulating medium which other nations will not use; in short, a non-exportable currency.

“‘Beyond the sea, in foreign lands, it [our greenback currency] fortunately is not money; but, sir, when have we had such an unbroken career of prosperity in business as since we adopted this non-exportable currency?’—(Hon. W. D. Kelley.)

“‘Money should be a thing of or belonging to a country, not of the world. An exportable commodity is not fitted to be money.’—(Quoted as a motto by Henry Carey Baird.)

“‘I desire the dollar to be made of such material that it shall never be exported or desirable to carry it out of the country.’—(Hon. B. F. Butler, Cooper Institute, October 15, 1875.)

“‘The venerable Henry C. Carey, under date of August 15, 1875, addressed a long letter to the chairman of the Detroit Greenback Convention, in which he argues that this country ought to maintain permanently

a non-exportable circulation.' He says, 'This important idea was first promulgated by Mr. Rauget, thirty-six years ago.'

"I will quote one other financial authority, which shows that the honor of this discovery does not belong to Rauget, nor to the present century. In his work entitled 'Money and Trade Considered: with a Proposal for Supplying the Nation with Money,' published at Edinburgh, 1705, John Law says :

"'If a money be established that has no intrinsic value, and its extrinsic value be such as it will not be exported, nor will not be less than the demand for it within the country, wealth and power will be attained, and will be less precarious. . . . The paper money herein proposed being always equal in quantity to the demand, the people will be employed, the country improved, manufacture advanced, trade—domestic and foreign—carried on, and wealth and power attained; and [it] not being liable to be exported, the people will not be set idle, etc., and wealth and power will be less precarious.'

"The subsequent experiments of Law are fitting commentaries.

"(2.) They propose to abandon altogether the use of gold and silver as standards of value or instruments of exchange, and hold that the stamp of the government, not the value of the material on which it is impressed, constitutes money:

"'I want the dollar stamped on some convenient and cheap material, of the least possible intrinsic value, . . . and I desire that the dollar so issued shall never be redeemed.'—(Hon. B. F. Butler, Cooper Institute.)

“ ‘ A piece of pig-metal is just as much money as a piece of gold, until the public authority has stamped it and said that it shall be taken for so much. . . . Suppose, then, that instead of taking a bar of silver or a bar of pig-metal, the government of the United States takes a piece of paper, called a greenback, and says that this shall pass for a legal tender in the receipt and expenditure of government dues, and in all the transactions of the people. Suppose this government to be a government of good standing, of sound credit, and responsible for its paper. This dollar thus stamped, instead of a piece of metal being stamped, is to all intents and purposes equivalent to a silver dollar when it has been made such by the government of the United States.’—(Campaign speech of Governor Allen, Gallipolis, Ohio, July 21, 1875.)

“ ‘ The use of gold or other merchandise as money is a barbarism unworthy of the age.’—(Wallace P. Groom, New York.)

“ ‘ The pretense of redemption in gold and silver is of necessity a delusion and an absurdity.’—(Britton A. Hill, Missouri.)

“ ‘ The government can make money of any material and of any shape and value it pleases.’—(Hon. O. S. Halstead, New Jersey.)

“(3.) They are not agreed among themselves as to what this new soft money shall be. They do agree, however, that the national banking system shall be abolished, and that whatever currency may be adopted shall be issued directly from the treasury, as the only money of the nation. Three forms are proposed :—

“ First. The legal tenders we now have, their volume to be increased and their redemption indefinitely postponed. The advocates of this form are the inflationists proper, who care more for the volume than the character of the currency.

“ Second. ‘ Absolute money ;’ that is, printed pieces of paper, called dollars, to be the only standard of value, the only legal tender for all debts, public and private, the only circulating medium. The advocates of this kind of ‘ money,’ though few in number, claim the highest place as philosophers.

“ The ablest defence of this doctrine will be found in a *brochure* of one hundred and eighteen pages, by Britton A. Hill, published in St. Louis during the present year and entitled ‘ Absolute Money.’ The author says (page 53):

“ ‘ If such national legal-tender money is not of itself sovereign and absolute, but must be convertible into some other substance or thing, before it can command universal circulation, what matters it whether that other substance or thing be interest-bearing bonds or gold or silver coin? . . . The coin despotism cannot be broken by substituting in its place the despotism of interest-bearing bonds.’

“ Third. A legal-tender note not redeemable, but exchangeable, at the will of the holder, for a bond of the United States bearing 3.65 per cent. interest, which bond shall in turn be exchangeable, at the will of the holder, for legal-tender notes. In order that this currency shall be wholly emancipated from the tyranny and barbarism of gold and silver, most of its advocates insist

that the interest on the bonds shall be paid in the proposed paper money. This financial perpetual motion is regarded as the great discovery of our era, and there are numerous claimants for the honor of being the first to discover it.

“Mr. Wallace P. Groom, of New York, has characterized this currency in a paragraph which has been so frequently quoted, that it may be fairly called their creed. It is in these words :

“‘In the interchangeability (at the option of the holder) of *national paper money* with government bonds bearing a fixed rate of interest, there is a subtle principle that will regulate the movements of finance and commerce as accurately as the motion of the steam-engine is regulated by its governor. Such PAPER MONEY TOKENS would be much nearer perfect measures of value than gold or silver ever have been or ever can be. The use of gold or other merchandise as money is a barbarism unworthy of the age.’

“(4.) The paper money men are unanimous in the opinion that the financial crisis of 1873 was caused by an insufficient supply of currency, and that a large increase will stimulate industry, restore prosperity, and largely augment the wealth of this country.

“Hon. Alexander Campbell, of Illinois, a leading writer of the soft money school, thinks there should now be in circulation not less than \$1,290,000,000 of legal-tender notes. (*North-Western Review*, November, 1873, page 152.)

“John G. Drew, another prominent writer, insists that ‘as England is an old and settled country, and we

are just building ours,' we ought to have at least \$60 *per capita*, or an aggregate of \$2,500,000,000.—(' Our Currency : What it is and what it should be.')

"No doubt the very large vote in Ohio and Pennsylvania in favor of soft money resulted, in great measure, from the depressed state of industry and trade, and a vague hope that the adoption of these doctrines would bring relief. The discussion in both States was able; and toward the close of the campaign, it was manifest that sound principles were every day gaining ground. Important as was the victory in those States, it is a great mistake to suppose that the struggle is ended. The advocates of soft money are determined and aggressive, and they confidently believe they will be able to triumph in 1876.

"It ought to be observed, as an interesting fact of current history, that the soft money men are making and collecting a literature which cannot fail to delight the antiquarian and the reader of curiosities of literature. They are ransacking old libraries to find any

"Quaint and curious
Volume of forgotten lore"

which may give support to their opinions. In a recent pamphlet, Henry Carey Baird refers to Andrew Yarranton 'as the father of English political economy.' The forgotten treatise which is now enrolled among the patristic books of the new school was published in London in 1677, and is entitled, 'England's Improvement by Sea and Land. To outdo the Dutch without Fighting, to pay Debts without Moneys, and to set at work all the Poor of England with the Growth of our own Lands.'

“The author proposes a public bank, based on the registered value of houses and lands, ‘the credit whereof making paper go in trade equal with ready money, yea better, in many parts of the world than money.’ He was perhaps the first Englishman who suggested a currency based on land. On pages 30–33 of his book may be found his draft of a proposed law, which provides ‘that all bonds or bills issued on such registered houses may be transferable, and shall pass and be good from man to man in the nature of bills of exchange.’

“The writings of John Law are also finding vigorous defenders. Britton A. Hill, in the pamphlet already quoted, devotes a chapter to his memory, compares him favorably with Leibnitz and Newton, and says, ‘John Law is justly regarded as one of the most profound thinkers of his age, in that he originated the first fundamental principle of this proposed absolute money.’ The admirers of ‘father’ Yarranton should see to it that the outdoer of the Dutch is not robbed of his honors by the great Scotsman.

“English history is being hunted through to find some comfort for the new doctrines in the writings of that small minority who resisted the Bullion Report of 1810 and the resumption of cash payments in 1819, and continued to denounce them afterwards. History must be rewritten. We must learn that Mathias Attwood (who?), not Lord Liverpool, Huskisson, or Peel, was the fountain of financial wisdom. Doubleday, whom no English writer has thought it worth while to answer, is much quoted by the new school, and they have lately come to feel the profoundest respect for Sir Archibald

Alison, because of his extravagant assault upon the Resumption Act of 1819. Alison holds a place in English literature chiefly because he wrote a work which fills a gap in English history not otherwise filled.

“In 1845 he wrote a pamphlet entitled ‘England in 1815 and 1845; or, a Sufficient and Contracted Currency,’ which the subsequent financial and commercial events in his country have so fully refuted that it has slept for a generation in the limbo of things forgotten. It is now unearthed, and finds an honored place in the new literature.

“As a specimen of Alison’s financial wisdom, we quote the following (pages 2, 3): ‘The eighteen years of war between 1797 and 1815 were, as all the world knows, the most glorious and, taken as a whole, the most prosperous that Great Britain has ever known. . . . Never has a prosperity so universal and unheard-of pervaded every department of the empire.’ He then enumerates the evidences of this prosperity, and prominent among them is this: ‘While the revenue raised by taxation was but £21,000,000 in 1796, it had reached £72,000,000 in 1815; and the total expenditures from taxes and loans had reached £117,000,000 in 1815.’ Happy people, whose burdens of taxation were quadrupled in eighteen years, and whose expenses, consumed in war, exceeded their revenues by the sum of \$225,000,000 in gold!

“The inflationists have not been so fortunate in augmenting their literary store from the writings and speeches of our early American statesmen. Still, they have made vigorous efforts to draft into their service any isolated paragraph that can be made useful for their pur-

pose. So far as I have seen, they have found no comfort in this search except in very short extracts from three of the great leaders of public thought. The first is from a juvenile essay in defence of paper money, written by Benjamin Franklin in 1729, when he was twenty-two years of age. This has been frequently quoted during the last four years. They are not so fond of quoting Franklin, the statesman and philosopher, who after a life-long experience wrote, in 1783, these memorable words :

“ I lament with you the many mischiefs, the injustice, the corruption of manners, etc., that attend a depreciated currency. It is some consolation to me that I washed my hands of that evil by predicting it in Congress, and proposing means that would have been effectual to prevent it if they had been adopted. Subsequent operations that I have executed demonstrate that my plan was practicable but it was unfortunately rejected.’—(Works, x. 9.)

“ A serious attempt has been made to capture Thomas Jefferson and bring him into the service. The following passage from one of his letters to John W. Eppes (Works, vi. 140) has been paraded through this discussion with all the emphasis of italics, thus :

“ *Bank paper must be suppressed, and the circulating medium must be restored to the nation to whom it belongs. It is the only fund on which they can rely for loans ; it is the only resource which can never fail them, and it is an abundant one for every necessary purpose. Treasury bills bottomed on taxes, bearing or not bearing interest, as may be found necessary, thrown into circulation, will take the place of so much gold or silver, which last, when*

crowded, will find an efflux into other countries, and thus keep the quantum of medium at its salutary level.'

"This passage was quoted as a strong point for the soft-money men in their campaign documents in Ohio, last fall. They did not find it convenient to quote the great Virginian more fully. When this letter was written, the United States was at war with England, with no friendly nation from whom to obtain loans. The demand for revenue was urgent, and the treasury was empty. Mr. Jefferson had long been opposed to the state banks, and he saw that by suppressing them and issuing treasury notes, with or without interest, the government could accomplish two things: destroy state bank currency, and obtain a forced loan, in the form of circulating notes. In enforcing this view, he wrote from Monticello to Mr. Eppes, June 24, 1813: 'I am sorry to see our loans begin at so exorbitant an interest. And yet, even at that, you will soon be at the bottom of the loan-bag. Ours is an agricultural nation. . . . In such a nation there is one and only one resource for loans, sufficient to carry them through the expense of a war; and that will always be sufficient, and in the power of an honest government, punctual in the preservation of its faith. The fund I mean is *the mass of circulating coin*. Every one knows that, although not literally, it is nearly true that every paper dollar emitted banishes a silver one from the circulation. A nation, therefore, making its purchases and payments with bills fitted for circulation, thrusts an equal sum of coin out of circulation. This is equivalent to borrowing that sum; and yet the vendor, receiving payment in a medium as effectual as coin for his purchases or pay-

ments, has no claim to interest. . . . In this way I am not without a hope that this great, this sole resource for loans in an agricultural country might yet be recovered for the use of the nation during war; and, if obtained *in perpetuum*, it would always be sufficient to carry us through any war, provided that in the interval between war and war all the outstanding paper should be called in, coin be permitted to flow in again, and to hold the field of circulation until another war should require its yielding place again to the national medium.'

"From this it appears that Jefferson favored the issue of treasury notes to help us through a war; but he insisted that they should be wholly retired on the return of peace. His three long letters to Eppes are full of powerful and eloquent denunciations of paper money. The soft money men appeal to Jefferson. We answer them in his own words: 'The truth is that capital may be produced by industry, and accumulated by economy; but jugglers only will propose to create it by legerdmain tricks of paper money.'—(Letter to Eppes, Works, vi. 239.)

"Their third attempt to elect some eminent statesman as an honorary member of the new school affords a striking illustration of a method too often adopted in our politics. It was very confidently stated by several advocates of soft money that John C. Calhoun had suggested that a paper money, issued directly by the government and made receivable for all public dues, would be as good a currency as gold and silver. Mr. Hill finally claimed Calhoun's authority in support of his absolute money, and printed on pages 56, 57 of his pam-

phlet a passage from a speech of Calhoun's. This extract was used in the Ohio campaign with much effect, until it was shown that there had been omitted from the passage quoted these important words: '*leaving its creditors to take it [treasury note circulation] or gold and silver at their option.*' After this exposure, the great nullifier was left out of the canvass.

"Thus far we have attempted no more than to exhibit the state of public opinion in regard to the currency in 1861-62, the changes that have since occurred, and the leading doctrines now held by the soft money men.

"Most of these dogmas are old, and have long ago been exploded. All are directly opposed to principles as well established as the theorems of Euclid.

THE DOCTRINE OF HARD MONEY.

"Believing that this generation of Americans is not willing to ignore all past experience, and to decide so great an issue as though it were now raised for the first time, we shall attempt to state, in brief compass, the grounds on which the doctrine of hard money rests.

"Hard money is not to be understood as implying a currency consisting of coin alone (though many have held, with Benton, that no other is safe), but that coin of ascertained weight and fineness, 'duly stamped and authenticated by the government, is the only safe standard of money; and that no form of credit-currency is safe unless it be convertible into coin at the will of the holder.

MONEY AS AN INSTRUMENT OF EXCHANGE.

“As preliminary to this discussion, it is necessary to determine the functions which money performs as an instrument of exchange. As barter was the oldest form of exchange, so it was and still is the ultimate object and result of all exchanges. For example: I wish to exchange my commodities or services for commodities or services of a different kind. I find no one at hand who has what I want, and wants what I have. I therefore exchange, or, as we say, sell, my commodities for money, which I hold until I find some one who wishes to sell what I want to buy. I then make the purchase. The two transactions have, in fact, resulted in a barter. It amounts to the same thing as though, at the start, I had found a man who wanted my commodities, and was willing to give me in exchange the commodities I desired. By a sale and a purchase I have accomplished my object. Money was the instrument by which the transactions were made. The great French economist, J. B. Say, has justly described a sale as half a barter, for we see, in the case above stated, that two sales were equivalent, in effect, to one act of simple barter. But some time may elapse between my sale and the subsequent purchase. How are my rights of property secured during the interval? That which I sold carried its value in itself as an exchangeable commodity; when I had exchanged it for money, and was waiting to make my purchase, the security for my property rested wholly in the money resulting from the sale. If that money be a perfect instrument of exchange, it must not only be the lawful measure of

that which I sold, but it must, of itself, be the actual *equivalent* in value. If its value depends upon the arbitrary acts of government or of individuals, the results of my transaction depend not upon the value of that which I sold nor of that which I bought, nor upon my prudence and skill, but upon an element wholly beyond my control—a medium of exchange which varies in value from day to day.

“Such being the nature of exchanges, we should expect to find that so soon as man begins to emerge from the most primitive condition of society and the narrowest circle of family life, he will seek a measure and an instrument of exchange among his first necessities. And in fact it is a matter of history that in the hunting state skins were used as money, because they were the product of chief value. In the pastoral state—the next advance in civilization—sheep and cattle, being the most valuable and negotiable form of property, were used as money. This appears in the earliest literature. In the Homeric poems oxen are repeatedly mentioned as the standard by which wealth was measured. The arms of Diomed were declared to be worth nine oxen, as compared with those of Glaucos, worth one hundred. A tripod, the first prize for wrestlers, in the twenty-third book of the Iliad was valued at twelve oxen, and a female captive, skilled in industry, at four.*

“In many languages the name for money is identical with that for some kind of cattle. Even our word ‘fee’ is said to be the Anglo-Saxon ‘feoh,’ meaning both money and cattle. Sir H. S. Maine, speaking of the primitive

* Jevon's “Money and the Mechanism of Exchange,” page 21.

state of society, says: 'Being counted by the head, the kine was called *capitale*, whence the economic term *capital*, the law term *chattel*, and our common name *cattle*.

"In the agricultural and manufacturing stage of civilization, many forms of vegetable and manufactured products were used as money, such as corn, wheat, tobacco, cacao-nuts, cubes of tea, colored feathers, shells, nails, etc.

"All these species of wealth were made instruments of exchange because they were easily transferable, and their value was the best known and least fluctuating. But the use of each as money was not universal; in fact, was but little known beyond the bounds of a single nation. Most of them were non-exportable; and though that fact would have commended them to the favor of some of our modern economists, yet the mass of mankind have entertained a different opinion, and have sought to find a medium whose value and fitness to be used as money would be universally acknowledged.

"It is not possible to ascertain when and by whom the precious metals were first adopted as money; but for more than three thousand years they have been acknowledged as the forms of material wealth best fitted to be the measure and instrument of exchange. Each nation and tribe, as it has emerged from barbarism, has abandoned its local, non-exportable medium, and adopted what is justly called 'the money of the world.'

"Coinage was a later device, employed for the sole purpose of fashioning into a convenient shape the metal to be used as money, and of ascertaining and certifying officially the weight and fineness of each piece.

"And here has arisen the chief error in reference to

the nature of money. Because the government coins it, names its denomination, and declares its value, many have been led to imagine that the government creates it, that its value is a gift of the law.

“The analogy of other standards will aid us at this point. Our constitution empowers Congress to fix the standard of weights and measures, as well as of values. But Congress cannot create extension, or weight, or value. It can measure that which has extension; it can weigh that which is ponderable; it can declare and subdivide and name a standard; but it cannot make length of that which has no length; it cannot make weight of that which is imponderable; it cannot make value of that which has no value. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. The power of Congress to make anything it pleases receivable for taxes is a matter wholly distinct from the subject now under discussion. Legislation cannot make that a measure of value which neither possesses nor represents any definitely ascertained value.

COIN AN INSTRUMENT OF UNIVERSAL CREDIT.

“Now apply to the operations of exchange a given coin, whose weight and fineness are certified by public authority. We cannot do this better than by borrowing the language of Frederic Bastiat, found in his treatise entitled ‘*Maudit Argent*.’ He says :

“‘You have a crown. What does it signify in your hands? It is the testimony and the proof that you have at some time performed a work; and, instead of profiting by it yourself, you have allowed the community to enjoy it, in the person of your client. This crown is the evi-

dence that you have rendered a service to society; and it states the value of that service. Moreover, it is the evidence that you have not drawn from the community the real equivalent, as was your right. In order to enable you to exercise that right when and as you please, society, by the hand of your client, has given you a *recognition, a title, a bond of the commonwealth, a token, in short a crown*, which differs from other fiduciary titles only in this, that it carries its value in itself; and if you can read with the eyes of the mind the inscription which it bears, you will distinctly decipher these words: '*Render to the bearer a service equivalent to that which he has rendered to society; a value received, stated, proved, and measured by that which is in me.*' . . . If you now give that crown to me as the price of a service, this is the result: your account with society for real services is found regular, is balanced and closed, . . . and I am justly in the position where you were before.'

"Edmund Burke expressed the same opinion when he said, 'Gold and silver are the two great, recognized species that represent the lasting, conventional credit of mankind.'

"Three thousand years of experience have proved that the precious metals are the best materials of which to make the standard of value, the instrument of exchange. They are themselves a store of value; they are durable, divisible, easily transported, and more constant in value than any other known substances. In the form of dust and bars, as merchandise, their value is precisely equal to their declared value as money, less the very small cost of coinage. Coin made of these metals meas-

ures wealth, because it represents wealth in itself, just as the yard-stick measures length, and the standard pound measures weight, because each has, in itself, that which it represents.

“Again, the precious metals are products of labor, and their value, like that of all other merchandise, depends upon the cost of production. A coin represents and measures the labor required to produce it; it may be called an embodiment of labor. Of course this statement refers to the average cost of production throughout the world, and that average has varied but little for many centuries. It is a flat absurdity to assert that such a reality as labor can be measured and really represented by that which costs little or no labor. For these reasons the precious metals have been adopted by the common law of the world as the best materials in which to embody the unit of money.

STATUTES CANNOT REPEAL THE LAWS OF VALUE.

“The oldest and perhaps the most dangerous delusion in reference to money is the notion that it is a creation of law; that its value can be fixed and maintained by authority. Yet no error has been more frequently refuted by experience. Every debasement of the coin, and every attempt to force its circulation at a higher rate than the market value of the metal it contains, has been punished by the inevitable disasters that always follow the violation of economic laws.

“The great parliamentary debate of 1695, on the recoinage of English money, affords an absolute demonstration of the truth that legislatures cannot repeal the laws

of value. Mr. Lowndes, the secretary of the treasury, though he held that a debasement of the coinage should be rejected as 'dangerous and dishonorable,' really believed, as did a large number of members of Parliament, that if, by law, they raised the name of the coin, they would raise its value as money. As Macaulay puts it, 'He was not in the least aware that a piece of metal with the king's head on it was a commodity of which the price was governed by the same law which governs the price of a piece of metal fashioned into a spoon or a buckle; and that it was no more in the power of Parliament to make the kingdom richer by calling a crown a pound than to make the kingdom larger by calling a furlong a mile. He seriously believed, incredible as it may seem, that if the ounce of silver were divided into seven shillings instead of five, foreign nations would sell us their wines and their silks for a smaller number of ounces. He had a considerable following, composed partly of dull men who really believed what he told them, and partly of shrewd men who were perfectly willing to be authorized by law to pay a hundred pounds with eighty.'—(History of England, chapter xxi.)

"It was this debate that called forth those masterly essays of John Locke on the nature of money and coin, which still remain as a monument to his genius and an unanswerable demonstration that money obeys the laws of value and is not the creature of arbitrary edicts. At the same time, Sir Isaac Newton was called from those sublime discoveries in science which made his name immortal, to aid the king and Parliament in ascertaining the true basis of money. After the most thorough examina-

tion, this great thinker reached the same conclusions. The genius of these two men, aided by the enlightened statesmanship of Montague and Somers, gave the victory to honest money, and preserved the commercial honor of England for a century.

PAPER MONEY AN INSTRUMENT OF CREDIT.

“In discussing the use of paper as a representative of actual money, we enter a new branch of political science, namely, the general theory of credit. We shall go astray at once if we fail to perceive the character of this element. Credit is not capital. It is the permission given to one man to use the capital of another. It is not an increase of capital; for the same property cannot be used as capital by both the owner and the borrower of it, at the same time. But credit if not abused, is a great and beneficent power. By its use the productiveness of capital is greatly increased. A large amount of capital is owned by people who do not desire to employ it in the actual production of wealth. There are many others who are ready and willing to engage in productive enterprise, but have not the necessary capital. Now, if the owners of unemployed capital have confidence in the honesty and skill of the latter class, they lend their capital at a fair rate of interest, and thus the production of wealth will be greatly increased. Frequently, however, the capital loaned is not actually transferred to the borrower, but a written evidence of his title to it is given instead. If this title is transferable it may be used as a substitute for money; for, within certain limits, it has the same purchasing power. When these evidences of credit

are in the form of checks and drafts, bills of exchange and promissory notes, they are largely used as substitutes for money, and very greatly facilitate exchanges. But all are based upon confidence, upon the belief that they represent truly what they profess to represent—actual capital, measured by real money, to be delivered on demand.

“These evidences of credit have become in modern times the chief instruments of exchange. The bank has become as indispensable to the exchange of values as the railroad is to the transportation of merchandise. It is the institution of credit by means of which these various substitutes for money are made available. It has been shown that not less than ninety per cent. of all the exchanges in the United States are accomplished by means of bank credits. The per cent. in England is not less than ninety-five. Money is now the small change of commerce. It is perhaps owing to this fact that many are so dazzled by the brilliant achievements of credit as to forget that it is the shadow of capital, not its substance; that it is the sign, the brilliant sign, but not the thing signified. Let it be constantly borne in mind that the check, the draft, the bill of exchange, the promissory note, are all evidences of debt, of money to be paid. If not, they are fictitious and fraudulent. If the real capital on which they are based be destroyed, they fall with it, and become utterly worthless. If confidence in their prompt payment be impaired, they immediately depreciate in proportion to the distrust.

“We have mentioned among these instruments of credit the promissory note. Its character as an evidence

of debt is not changed when it comes to us illuminated by the art and mystery of plate-printing. Name it national bank-note, greenback, Bank of England note, or what you will ; let it be signed by banker, president, or king, it is none the less an evidence of debt, a promise to pay. It is not money, and no power on earth can make it money. But it is a title to money, a deed for money, and can be made equal to money only when the debtor performs the promise—delivers the property which the deed calls for, pays the debt. When that is done, and when the community knows, by actual test, that it will continue to be done, then, and not till then, this credit-currency will in fact be the honest equivalent of money. Then it will, in large measure, be used in preference to coin, because of its greater convenience, and because the cost of issuing new notes in place of those which are worn and mutilated is much less than the loss which the community suffers by abrasion of the coin. To the extent, therefore, that paper will circulate in place of coin, as a substitute and an equivalent, such circulation is safe, convenient, and economical. And what is the limit of such safe circulation? Economic science has demonstrated, and the uniform experience of nations has proved, that the term which marks that limit, the sole and supreme test of safety, is the exchangeability of such paper for coin, dollar for dollar, at the will of the holder. The smallest increase in volume beyond that limit produces depreciation in the value of each paper dollar. It then requires more of such depreciated dollars to purchase a given quantity of gold or merchandise than it did before depreciation began. In other words, prices rise in comparison

with such currency: The fact that it is made a legal tender for taxes and private debts does not free it from the inexorable law that increase of volume decreases the value of every part.

“It is equally true that an increase of the precious metals, coined or uncoined, decreases their value in comparison with other commodities; but these metals are of such universal currency, on account of their intrinsic value, that they flow to all parts of the civilized world, and the increase is so widely distributed that it produces but a small increase of prices in any one country. Not so with an inconvertible paper money. It is not of universal currency. It is national, not international. It is non-exportable. The whole effect of its depreciation is felt at home. The level of Salt Lake has risen ten feet during the last thirty years, because it has no outlet. But all the floods of the world have made no perceptible change in the general level of the sea.

“The character of inconvertible paper money, the relation of its quantity to its value, and its inevitable depreciation by an increase of volume, were demonstrated in the Bullion Report of 1810 by facts and arguments whose force and conclusiveness have never been shaken. In the great debate that followed, in Parliament and through the press, may be found the counterpart of almost every doctrine and argument which has been advanced in our own country since the suspension of specie payments. Then, as now, there were statesmen, doctrinaires, and business men who insisted that the bank-notes were not depreciated, but that gold had risen in value; who denied that gold coin was any longer the standard of value,

and declared that a bank-note was 'abstract currency.' Castlereagh announced in the House of Commons that the money standard was '*a sense of value, in reference to currency as compared with commodities.*' Another soft money man of that day said: 'The standard is neither gold nor silver, but *something set up in the imagination, to be regulated by public opinion.*' Though the doctrines of the Bullion Report were at first voted down in Parliament, they could not be suppressed. With the dogged persistency which characterizes our British neighbors, the debate was kept up for ten years. Every proposition and counter proposition was sifted, the intelligence and conscience of the nation were invoked; the soft money men were driven from every position they occupied in 1811, and at last the ancient standard was restored. When the bank redeemed its notes, the difference between the mint price and the market price of bullion disappeared, and the volume of paper money was reduced in the ratio of its former depreciation. During the last half century few Englishmen have risked their reputation for intelligence by denying the doctrines thus established.

"These lessons of history cannot be wholly forgotten. It is too late to set up again the doctrines of Lowndes and Vansittart. They may disturb and distract public opinion, but can never again triumph before an intelligent tribunal. I commend to the soft money men of our time the study of this great debate and that of 1695. When they have overturned the doctrines of Locke and Newton and of the Bullion Report, it will be time for them to invite us to follow their new theories.

“But we need not go abroad to obtain illustrations of the truth that the only cure for depreciation of the currency is convertibility into coin. Our American colonies, our Continental Congress, and our State and national governments have demonstrated its truth by repeated and calamitous experiments. The fathers who drafted our constitution believed they had ‘shut and bolted the door against irredeemable paper money;’ and, since then, no president, no secretary of the treasury, has proposed or sanctioned a paper currency, in time of peace, not redeemable in coin at the will of the holder. Search our records from 1787 to 1861, and select from any decade twenty of our most illustrious statesmen, and it will be found that not less than nineteen of them have left on record, in the most energetic language, their solemn protest and warning against the very doctrines we are opposing.

“The limits of this article will allow only the briefest statement of the evils that flow from a depreciated currency, evils both to the government and to the people, which overbalance, a thousand to one, all its real or supposed benefits. The word ‘dollar’ is the substantive word, the fundamental condition of every contract, of every sale, of every payment, whether at the treasury or at the stand of the apple-woman in the street. The dollar is the gauge that measure every blow of the hammer, every article of merchandise, every exchange of property. Forced by the necessities of war, we substituted for the this dollar the printed promise of the Government to pay a dollar. That promise we have not kept. We have suspended payment, and have compelled the citizen to

receive dishonored paper in place of money. The representative value of that paper has passed, by thousands of fluctuations, from one hundred cents down to thirty-eight, and back again to ninety. At every change, millions of men have suffered loss. In the midst of war, with rising prices and enormous gains, these losses were tolerable. But now, when we are slowly and painfully making our way back to the level of peace—now, when the pressure of hard times is upon us, and industry and trade depend for their gains upon small margins of profit, the uncertainty is an intolerable evil. That uncertainty is increased by doubts as to what Congress will do. Men hesitate to invest their capital in business, when a vote in Congress may shrink it by half its value. Still more striking are the evils of such a currency in its effects upon international commerce. Our purchases from and sales to foreign nations amount in the aggregate to one billion two hundred million dollars per annum, every dollar of which is measured in coin. Those who export our products buy with paper and sell for gold. Our importers buy with gold and sell for paper. Thus the aggregate value of our international exchanges is measured, successfully, by the two standards. The loss occasioned by the fluctuation of these currencies in reference to each other falls wholly on us. We, alone, use paper as a standard. And who, among us, bears the loss? The importer, knowing the risk he runs, adds to his prices a sufficient per cent. to insure himself against loss. This addition is charged over from importer to jobber, from jobber to retailer, until its dead weight falls, at last, upon the laborer who consumes the goods. In the same way, the exporter insures himself against

loss by marking down the prices he will pay for products to be sent abroad. In all such transactions capital is usually able to take care of itself. The laborer has but one commodity for sale, his day's work. It is his sole reliance. He must sell it to-day or it is lost forever. What he buys must be bought to-day. He cannot wait till prices fall. He is at the mercy of the market. Buying or selling, the waves of its fluctuations beat against him. Daniel Webster never uttered a more striking truth than when he said: 'Of all the contrivances for cheating the laboring classes of mankind, none has been more effectual than that which deludes them with paper money. This is the most effectual of inventions to fertilize the rich man's field by the sweat of the poor man's face.'

"But here we are met by the interconvertible-bond-and-currency men, who offer to emancipate us from the tyranny of gold and secure a more perfect standard than coin has ever been. Let us see. Our five per cent. bonds are now on a par with gold. Any actuary will testify that in the same market a 3.65 bond, payable, principal and interest, in gold, and having the same time to run, is worth but seventy-five cents in gold; that is, thirteen cents less than the present greenback. How much less the bond will be worth if its interest be made payable in the proposed inconvertible currency, no mortal can calculate. It is proposed, then, to make the new currency equivalent to a bond which, at its birth, is thirteen cents below the greenback of to-day. We are to take a long leap downward at the first bound. But 'interconvertibility' is the charm, the 'subtle principle,' the

great 'regulator of finance,' which will adjust everything. The alternate ebb and flow of bond into paper dollar, and paper dollar into bond, will preserve an equilibrium, an equipoise ; and this level of equipoise is the base line that will measure the new standard of value. The lad who sold his two-dollar dog for fifty dollars, and took his pay in pups at ten dollars each, never doubted that he had made a profit of forty-eight dollars until he found how small a sum the whole litter would sell for in the market.

"Undoubtedly the beam will lie level that is weighted with the bond at one end and the paper money at the other. But what will be the relation of that level to the level of real values? Both the bond and the currency are instruments of credit, evidences of debt. They cannot escape the dominion of those universal laws that regulate prices. If made by law the only legal tender, such a currency would doubtless occupy the field. But what would be the result? To a certain extent the bonds themselves would be used as currency. The clearing-house banks of New York would doubtless be glad to get interest-bearing bonds instead of the government certificates of indebtedness, bearing no interest, which, for convenience, they now use in the settlement of their balances. The reserves of public and private banks, which now amount to more than two hundred million dollars, would largely be held in these interest-bearing bonds. Thus the first step would result in compelling the government to pay interest on a large portion of the reserves of all the banks, public, and private. It will hardly be claimed, however, that anybody will part with his property for bonds of this

description, to hold as a permanent investment. Capital in this country is worth more than 3.65 per cent. How, then, will the new currency be set afloat? The treasury can pay it out only in exchange for the new bonds or in payment of public dues. Shall we violate public faith by paying the gold bonds already outstanding in this new and greatly depreciated paper? Or shall we, as some of the soft money men have proposed, enter upon a vast system of public works in order to put the new currency in circulation? No doubt means would be found to push it into circulation, so long as enterprise or speculation should offer a hope of greater profits than 3.65 per cent. Once out, it would inevitably prove a repetition of the old story: an artificial stimulation of business and of speculation; large issues of currency; inflation of prices, depreciation of paper, delirium, prostration; 'up like a rocket, then down like a stick.' They tell us that this cannot happen, because as the volume of paper increases, the rate of interest will fall, and when it reaches 3.65 per cent. the currency will be exchanged for bonds. But all experience is against them. Inflation has never brought down the rate of interest. In fact, the rate is always highest in countries afflicted with irredeemable paper money. For all practical purposes, the proposed currency would be unredeemed and irredeemable; and this is what its advocates desire. General Butler sees 'no more reason for redeeming the measure of value than for redeeming the yardstick or the quart-pot.' This shows the utmost confusion of ideas. We do not *redeem* the yardstick or the quart-pot. They are, in reality, what they profess

to be. There is nothing better for measuring yards than a yardstick. But, in regard to the yardstick, we do what is strictly analogous to redemption when applied to currency. We preserve our yardstick undiminished and unchanged; and, by the solemn sanction of penal law, we require that it shall be applied to the purchase and sale of all commodities that can be measured by the standard of length. The citizen who buys by a longer yardstick or sells by a shorter one than our standard, is punished as a felon. Common honesty requires that we restore, and with equal care preserve from diminution or change, our standard of value.

“It has been already shown that the soft money men desire a vast increase of currency above the present volume. The assumed necessity for such an increase was a leading topic in the debates that preceded the late elections.

“The argument, often repeated, ran substantially thus :

“Fellow-citizens! You are in great distress. The smoke of your furnaces no longer ascends to the sky; the clang of your mills and workshops is no longer heard. Your workers in metal and miners in coal are out of employment. Stagnation of trade, depression of business, and public distress are seen on every hand. What has caused these disasters? Manifestly, a lack of money. Is there any man among you who has money enough? If there be, let him stand forth and declare it. Is there one who does not need more money to carry on his business? [Cries of No! No!] The hard money men have brought you to this distress, by contracting the

volume of the currency, by destroying the people's money, your money. And they propose to complete your ruin by forcing the country to resume specie payments. We come to save you from this ruin. We insist that you shall have more money, not less. We are resolved to make and keep the volume of currency 'equal to the wants of trade.'

"These assumptions were answered by undeniable facts. It was shown that our large volume of paper currency had helped to bring on the crisis of 1873, and had greatly aggravated its effects; but that the main cause was speculation, over-trading, and, in some branches of business, an over-production beyond the demands of the market.

"A striking illustration of the effect of over-production was drawn from the history of one of the interior counties of Northern Ohio. In the midst of a wilderness, far away from the centres of trade, the pioneers commenced the settlement of the county at the beginning of the present century. Year by year their number was augmented. Each new settler was compelled to buy provisions for his family until he could raise his first crop. For several years this demand afforded a ready market, at good prices, for all the products of the farm. But in 1818, the supply greatly exceeded the demand. The wheat market was so glutted that twenty bushels were frequently offered for one pound of tea, and often refused, because tea could be bought only for money, and wheat could hardly be sold at all.

"If the soft money men of our time had been among those farmers, they would have insisted that more

money would raise the price of their wheat and set the ploughboys at work. But the pioneers knew that until the stock on hand was reduced, the production of another bushel to be sold would be labor wasted. The cry for more currency shows that soft money men have confounded credit with capital, and vaguely imagine that if more paper dollars were printed they could be borrowed without security.

“In whatever form the new currency be proposed, whether in the so-called absolute money or in the ‘interconvertible paper money tokens,’ as a relief from distress, it is a delusion and a snare. All these schemes are reckless attempts to cut loose from real money—the money known and recognized throughout the world—and to adopt for our standard that which a great gold gambler of Wall Street aptly called ‘phantom gold.’ Their authors propose a radical and dangerous innovation in our political system. They desire to make the National Treasury a bank of issue, and to place in the control of Congress the vast money power of the nation, to be handled as the whim, the caprice, the necessities of political parties may dictate. Federalist as Hamilton was, he held that such a power was too great to be centralized in the hands of one body. This goes a hundred leagues beyond any measure of centralization that has yet been adopted or suggested.

“In view of the doctrines herein advocated, what shall be said of the present condition of our currency? It is depreciated. Its purchasing power is less than that of real money, by about fourteen per cent. Our notes are at a discount; not because the ability of the nation

to redeem them is questioned, but partly because its good faith is doubted, and partly because the volume of these notes is too great to circulate at par. What that volume ought to be, no man can tell. Convertibility into coin is a perfect test, and is the only test.

NECESSITY OF RESUMPTION.

“The duty of the government to make its currency equal to real money is undeniable and imperative. First, because the public faith is most solemnly pledged, and this alone is a conclusive and unanswerable reason why it should be done. The perfidy of one man, or of a million men, is as nothing compared with the perfidy of a nation. The public faith was the talisman that brought to the treasury thirty-five hundred million dollars in loans, to save the life of the nation, which was not worth saving if its honor be not also saved. The public faith is our only hope of safety from the dangers that may assail us in the future. The public faith was pledged to redeem these notes in the very act which created them, and the pledge was repeated when each additional issue was ordered. It was again repeated in the act of 1869, known as the ‘act to strengthen the public credit,’ and yet again in the act of 1875, promising redemption in 1879.

“Second. The government should make its currency equal to gold because the material prosperity of its people demands it. Honest dealing between man and man requires it. Just and equal legislation for the people, safety in trade, domestic and foreign, security in busi-

ness, just distribution of the rewards of labor—none of these are possible until the present false and uncertain standard of value has given place to the real, the certain, the universal standard. Its restoration will hasten the revival of commercial confidence, which is the basis of all sound credit.

“Third. Public morality demands the re-establishment of our ancient standard. The fever of speculation which our fluctuating currency has engendered cannot be allayed till its cause is destroyed. A majority of all the crimes relating to money, that have been committed in public and private life since the war, have grown out of the innumerable opportunities for sudden and inordinate gains which this fluctuation has offered.

“The gold panic of 1869, which overwhelmed thousands of business men in ruin, and the desperate gambling in gold which is to-day absorbing so many millions of capital that ought to be employed in producing wealth, were made possible only by the difference between paper and gold. Resumption will destroy all that at a blow. It will enable all men to see the real situation of their affairs, and will do much toward dissipating those unreal and fascinating visions of wealth to be won without industry, which have broken the fortunes and ruined the morals of so many active and brilliant citizens.

“My limits will not allow a discussion of the hardship and evils which it is feared will accompany the restoration of the old standard. Whatever they may be, they will be light and transient in comparison with those we shall endure if the doctrines of soft money prevail. I am not able to see why the approach to specie may not

be made so gradual that the fluctuation in any one month will be less than that which we have suffered from month to month since 1869. We have travelled more than half the distance which then separated us from the gold standard.

“A scale of appreciation like that by which England resumed in 1821 would greatly mitigate the hardships arising from the movement. Those who believe that the volume of our currency is but little above its normal level need not fear that there will be much contraction; for, with free banking, they may be sure that all the paper which can be an actual substitute for money will remain in circulation. No other ought to circulate.

“The advocates of soft money are loud in their denunciation of the English resumption act of 1819, and parade the distorted views of that small and malignant minority of English writers who have arraigned the act as the cause of the agricultural distress of 1822, and the financial crash which followed, in 1825. The charge is absolutely unjust and unfounded. In 1822 a committee of the House of Commons, having investigated the causes of the agricultural distress of that and the preceding year, found that it was due to the operation of the corn laws, and to the enormous wheat crops of the two preceding seasons. Their report makes no reference to the resumption act as a cause of the distress. In both that and the following year, a few of the old opponents of hard money offered resolutions in the House of Commons, declaring that the resumption act was one of the causes of the public distress. The resolution of 1822 was defeated by a vote of one hundred and forty-one to twenty-seven, and

that of 1823 was defeated by the still more decisive vote of one hundred and ninety-two to thirty. An overwhelming majority of intelligent Englishmen look back with pride and satisfaction upon the act of resumption as a just and beneficent measure.

“But methods and details of management are of slight importance in comparison with the central purpose so often expressed by the nation. From that purpose there should be no retreat. To postpone its fulfilment beyond the day already fixed is both dangerous and useless. It will make the task harder than ever. Resumption could have been accomplished in 1867 with less difficulty than it can be in 1879. It can be accomplished more easily in 1879 than at any later date. It is said that we ought to wait until the vast mass of private debts can be adjusted. But when will that be done? Horace has told us of a rustic traveller who stood on the bank of a river, waiting for its waters to flow by, that he might cross over in safety. ‘*At ille labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*’ The succession of debts and debtors will be as perpetual as the flow of the river.

“We ought to be inspired by the recent brilliant example of France. Suffering unparalleled disasters, she was compelled to issue a vast volume of legal-tender notes in order to meet her obligations. But so soon as the great indemnity was paid, she addressed herself resolutely to the work of bringing her currency up to the standard of gold. During the last two years she has reduced her paper currency nearly seven hundred and fifty million francs; and now it is substantially at par.

“Amidst all her disasters she has kept her financial

credit untarnished. And this has been her strength and her safety. To meet the great indemnity, she asked her people for a loan of three billion francs ; and twelve and a half times the amount was subscribed. In August, 1874, the American Minister at Paris said, in one of his despatches, ' Though immense amounts were taken abroad, yet it seems they are all coming back to France, and are now being absorbed in small sums by the common people. The result will be, in the end, that almost the entire loan will be held in France. Every person in the whole country is wishing to invest a few hundred francs in the new loan, and it has reached a premium of four and one half to five per cent.'

" Our public faith is the symbol of our honor and the pledge of our future safety. By every consideration of national honor, of public justice, and of sound policy, let us stand fast in the resolution to restore our currency to the standard of gold."

On the 5th of April, 1880, Mr. Weaver, the leader of the Greenback party in the House, arose and addressed the Speaker as follows :

" I move to suspend the rules and adopt the resolutions which I send to the desk.

" The Clerk read as follows :

" *Resolved*, That it is the sense of this House that all currency, whether metallic or paper, necessary for the use and convenience of the people should be issued and its volume controlled by the Government, and not by or through the bank corporations of the country ; and when so issued should be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private.

“2. *Resolved*, That, in the judgment of this House, that portion of the interest-bearing debt of the United States which shall become redeemable in the year 1881, or prior thereto, being in amount \$782,000,000, should not be refunded beyond the power of the Government to call in said obligations and pay them at any time, but should be paid as rapidly as possible, and according to contract. To enable the Government to meet these obligations, the mints of the United States should be operated to their full capacity in the coinage of standard silver dollars, and such other coinage as the business interests of the country may require.’”

As soon as the Clerk had finished reading the resolutions. General Garfield rose, and said :

“Mr. Speaker.—I never heard the provisions of this resolution until it was read from the desk a few moments ago. It has, however, attained some historical importance by being talked about a good deal in the newspapers, and by blocking the other business of the House for some weeks. As I listened to its reading I noticed that it is one of those mixed propositions which has some good things in it which everybody would probably like and vote for if they were separated ; but the good things are used to sugar over what, in my judgment, is most pernicious.

“There are three things in this resolution to which I wish to call the attention of the House before they vote. The first is a proposition of the largest possible proportion, that all money, whether of coin or paper, that is to circulate in this country, ought to be manufactured and issued directly by the Government. I stop there. I want to say on that proposition to the majority in this House,

who are so strongly opposed to what they call centralization, that never was there a measure offered to the Congress of so vast and far-reaching centralism. It would convert the Treasury of the United States into a manufactory of paper money. It makes the House of Representatives and Senate, or the caucus of the party which happens to be in the majority, the absolute dictator of the financial and business affairs of this country. This scheme surpasses all the centralism and all the Cæsarism that were ever charged upon the Republican party in the wildest days of the war, or in the events growing out of the war.

“Now, I say, without fear of contradiction, that prior to 1862 the wildest dreamer in American finance was never wild enough to propose such a measure of centralization as that single proposition implies. The Government should prescribe general laws in reference to the quality and character of our paper money, but should never become the direct manufacturer and issuer of it.

“The second point involved in this resolution is that the Government of the United States shall pay all its public debts in this manufactured money, manufactured to order at the Treasury factory. Notwithstanding the solemn and acknowledged pledge of the Government to pay the principal and interest of its public debt in coin, this resolution declares that in this legal-tender paper the public debt shall be payable.

“The third point I wish to call attention to—

“Mr. Ewing.—Will my colleague allow me to interrupt him for a moment?

“Mr. Garfield.—Certainly.

“Mr. Ewing.—You certainly misunderstand the resolution. It declares that all public debts of the United States shall be paid in the money of the contract, and not in any coin or money the Government may choose to pay them in.

“Mr. Garfield.—Any money the Government may issue is by this resolution declared to be lawful money, and, therefore, is to be made the money of the contract by the legislation proposed to-day.

“Mr. Ewing.—That is a mere quibble based on a total misconstruction of the resolution.

“Mr. Garfield.—Answer in your own time.

“Now, the third point in this resolution is that there shall be no refunding of the \$782,000,000 to fall due this year and next, but all that shall be paid. How? Out of the resources of the nation? Yes; but the money to be manufactured at the Treasury is to be called part of these resources. Print it to death—that is the way to dispose of the public debt, says this resolution.

“I have only to say that these three make the triple-headed monster of centralization, inflation, and repudiation combined. This monster is to be let loose on the country as the last spawn of the dying party that thought it had a little life in it a year ago. It is put out at this moment to test the courage of the two political parties; it is offered at this point when the roar of the Presidential contest comes to us from all quarters of the country. In a few moments we shall see what the political parties will do with this beast. All I have to say, for one, is, meet and throttle it; in the name of honesty, in the

name of the public peace and prosperity, in the name of the rights of individual citizens of this country against centralism, worse than we ever dreamed of, meet it and fight it like men. Let both parties show their courage by meeting boldly and putting an end to its power for mischief. Let the vote be taken."

On the 10th of April, 1880, the House being in Committee of the Whole on the Appropriation Bill, the following debate occurred between General Garfield and Mr. McMahan, of Ohio :

"Mr. McMahan (Dem.), of Ohio, submitted an amendment repealing the sections of the statutes providing for the biennial examination of pensioners, but leaving with the commissioner power to order special examinations when necessary and to increase or reduce pensions in accordance with right and justice, but no pension shall be reduced without notice to the pensioner. The amendment concludes as follows :

"' In order to provide for the payment of arrears of pensions the Secretary of the Treasury is directed to issue immediately in payment thereof, as they may be adjusted, the \$10,000,000 in legal tender currency now in the United States Treasury, kept as a special fund for the redemption of fractional currency.'

"Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, raised the point of order that the amendment was not germane to the bill, changed existing law, and did not retrench expenditures. If the amendment could be ruled in order a proposition to break wholly through the whole resumption business could be also ruled in order."

SPEECH OF MR. McMAHON.

“ Mr. McMahon, of Ohio, in advocacy of that portion of the amendment providing for the reissue of the \$10,000,000 in the Treasury, said that he had been asked to go farther in that direction than he proposed ; but he had offered a proposition which, he thought, would be entirely unobjectionable on the Republican side of the House. Why should this \$10,000,000 of idle money be kept in the Treasury when it was clear that all of the fractional currency (for the redemption of which this money was ostensibly held) had been redeemed ? Why should the pensioners be told that there was a deficiency in the Treasury, and that, therefore, their arrearages of pensions could not be paid ? He had been surprised to hear the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Garfield) make a point of order against the pensioners of the country, because he had supposed that that gentleman owed an allegiance to them which was superior to that which he owed to Wall Street.* He made use of that language advisedly, because there were no people interested in keeping that \$10,000,000 in the Treasury except those who were in favor of contracting the currency. The Secretary of the Treasury was a good deal like his colleague (Mr. Garfield), and was always in favor of action in the interest of capital. As an illustration of Mr. Sherman's financial policy he said, that if that gentleman were dying his last words would be ‘ Borrow money on government bonds to put up a tombstone over me.’ The Treasury was loaded down with a reserve of \$330,000,000 in gold and currency, and yet the Secretary of the

Treasury told the people that there must be either additional taxes or an additional issue of bonds. Here were \$10,000,000 now in the Treasury, a part of the reserve authorized by law. The purpose for which it has been placed there has long since passed away, and it should now be put out to pay the arrears of pensions instead of issuing \$10,000,000 of bonds of which the interest would amount to \$400,000 a year."

REPLY OF MR. GARFIELD.

"Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, said that the attempt of his colleague (Mr. McMahan) to set himself up as the champion of the pensioners, was quite too thin a disguise to deceive anybody. The Republican side of the House had tried again and again to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to extend the sales of four per cent. bonds sufficiently to cover the matter of the payment of the arrears of pensions, and the House, at the last session had been brought to a vote on that subject at least twice, and but for the resistance on the Democratic side of the House that proposition would have prevailed and the pensioners would have been paid their arrearages. The responsibility for not paying them rested, therefore, on those who resisted that proposition, not on those who made it. No man could torture anything which he had said to-day on the point of order into an unwillingness that the pensioners should have their pensions paid or that all remedial legislation should be adopted to make their payment easy. It was quite too late in the day for his colleague to intimate that there was objection on his (Mr. Garfield's) part to have the pensioners paid. He had made

the point of order simply because he looked upon the amendment as an entering wedge, the general purpose of which was to break down the system of reserves, on which the maintenance of resumption depended. His colleague, whose distinguished knowledge as a financier no one would question, had amazed him very much by saying that the subsidiary currency played no part in the general problem of resumption. Did not his colleague know perfectly well that a subsidiary currency went to make up the bulk of circulating medium, just as much as greenbacks did, and just as much as gold did? The relations between himself and his colleague had never been such as to warrant either in using an impolite or indecent expression toward the other, and therefore his colleague had no more right to say, either as a matter of fact or as a matter of fair inference, that he (Mr. Garfield) owed his allegiance to Wall Street than he would have a right to say that his colleague owed his allegiance to the grogeries and whiskey shops of Dayton. And as he (Mr. Garfield) would not say that, he did not think that his colleague was entitled to say the other.

“Mr. McMahon stated that he was tolerably familiar with his colleague’s public career, and he asked his colleague whether in all the discussions that had taken place in this country on the financial question his colleague could show one vote of his that was not based upon the idea of speedy resumption, no matter at what cost, even when his colleague’s own party had separated from him on that point in the forty-third Congress?

“Mr. Garfield replied that, according to his own notions of proper legislative praise, his colleague could

not counterpraise him any more than in stating that he (Mr. Garfield) had always cast his vote in favor of the resumption of specie payment. If he ever had cast a vote which was not against all schemes to delay that unnecessarily, or to prevent it, then he had cast a vote of which his conscience and his judgment disapproved. [Applause on the Republican side.] He had cast as many votes as any member on the floor against Wall Street and against the business of gold gambling, which had been destroyed by resumption—gold gambling that had locked up \$10,000,000 from the business capital of the country for fifteen years, locked it up away from all profitable investment and converted Wall Street into a faro hell. (Applause.)

“Mr. Bright (Dem.), of Tennessee.—Has not Wall Street been simply transferred to the Treasury of the United States.

“Mr. Garfield.—I hope that enough of the gold and silver of the country that has been hitherto locked up in Wall Street for gold gambling purposes has been transferred to the Treasury of the United States to break down the bulls and bears of Wall Street permanently and to maintain honest money in the country. (Applause.)

“Mr. McMahon inquired if it was wrong to order the \$10,000,000 to be reissued, when under the law they should be paid out in redemption of fractional currency.

“Mr. Garfield replied that if his colleague would inquire and find out how much of that \$10,000,000 could be spared, leaving enough to meet all the obligations of the reserve, he would be willing to vote that surplus for the purpose of paying arrears of pensions.”

CHAPTER IX.

THE CREDIT MOBILIER AND DE GOLYER CHARGES — GENERAL GARFIELD'S TRIUMPHANT VINDICATION.

History of the *Crédit Mobilier* Scheme—The Pacific Railway—Government Aid extended to H. Oakes Ames' Connection with the Road—Congress Investigates the *Crédit Mobilier*—General Garfield's sworn Testimony before the Committee—He denies all Improper Connection with the Scheme—Publishes a Review of the Case—An Exhaustive Discussion of the Case—Testimony in the Matter—General Garfield's Response to the Charges of 1872—Mr. Ames' Testimony Analyzed—Mr. Ames' Memoranda—The Check on the Sergeant-at-Arms—General Garfield's Interviews with Mr. Ames during the Investigation—Conclusions—Triumphant Vindication of General Garfield—All the Charges against him—Letter of Judge Poland—General Garfield Unanimously Acquitted of Wrong-doing—The De Golyer Pavement Company—Charges against General Garfield—His Triumphant Vindication of his Course—The Truth established at last.

It could hardly be expected that one who had taken such an active and prominent part in our public affairs should escape the attacks of slander. General Garfield has experienced the fate of most public men. He has been misjudged, and false charges have been brought against him. Inasmuch as these charges have been made, it seems but just that we should reproduce them here, and then present General Garfield's triumphant and masterly vindication of his course.

It was charged that he was a sharer in the unjust

profits of the *Crédit Mobilier* ring in Congress. To understand this question thoroughly it will be necessary to relate the history of that iniquitous scheme.

One of the great public works of the Union, of which the whole country is justly proud, is the Pacific Railroad, extending from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. The early history of the great road is a story of constant struggles and disappointments. It seemed to the soundest capitalists a mere piece of fool-hardiness to undertake to build a railroad across the continent and over the Rocky Mountains, and, although Government aid was liberally pledged to the undertaking, it did not, for a long time, attract to it the capital it needed. At length, after many struggles, the doubt which had attended the enterprise was ended. Capital was found, and with it men ready to carry on the work. In September, 1864, a contract was entered into between the Union Pacific Company and H. W. Hoxie, for the building by said Hoxie of one hundred miles of the road from Omaha west. Mr. Hoxie at once assigned this contract to a company, as had been the understanding from the first. This company, then comparatively unknown, but since very famous, was known as the *Crédit Mobilier* of America. The company had bought up an old charter that had been granted by the Legislature of Pennsylvania to another company in that State, but which had not been used by them.

“In 1865 or 1866, Oakes Ames, then a member of Congress from the State of Massachusetts, and his brother Oliver Ames, became interested in the Union Pacific Company, and also in the *Crédit Mobilier* Com-

pany, as the agent for the construction of the road. The Messrs. Ames were men of very large capital, and of known character and integrity in business. By their example and credit and the personal efforts of Mr. Oakes Ames, many men of capital were induced to embark in the enterprise, and to take stock in the Union Pacific Company, and also in the *Crédit Mobilier Company*. Among them were the firm of S. Hooper & Co., of Boston, the leading member of which (Mr. Samuel Hooper) was then and is now a member of the House; Mr. John B. Alley, then a member of the House from Massachusetts, and Mr. Grimes, then a senator from the State of Iowa. Notwithstanding the vigorous efforts of Mr. Ames and others interested with him, great difficulty was experienced in securing the required capital.

“In the spring of 1867, the *Crédit Mobilier Company* voted to add fifty per cent. to their capital stock, which was then \$2,500,000; and to cause it to be readily taken, each subscriber to it was entitled to receive as a bonus an equal amount of first mortgage bonds of the Union Pacific Company. The old stockholders were entitled to take this increase, but even the favorable terms offered did not induce all the old stockholders to take it, and the stock of the *Crédit Mobilier Company* was never considered worth its par value until after the execution of the Oakes Ames contract hereinafter mentioned. On the 16th day of August, 1867, a contract was executed between the Union Pacific Railroad and Oakes Ames, by which Mr. Ames contracted to build 667 miles of the Union Pacific Road at prices ranging from \$42,000 to \$96,000 per mile, amounting in the aggregate to

\$47,000,000. Before the contract was entered into, it was understood that Mr. Ames was to transfer it to seven trustees who were to execute it, and the profits of the contract were to be divided among the stockholders in the Crédit Mobilier Company, who should comply with certain conditions set out in the instrument transferring the contract to the trustees. Subsequently, all the stockholders of the Crédit Mobilier Company complied with the conditions named in the transfer, and thus became entitled to share in any profits said trustees might make in executing the contract. All the large stockholders in the Union Pacific were also stockholders in the Crédit Mobilier, and the Ames contract and its transfer to trustees were ratified by the Union Pacific and received the assent of the great body of stockholders, but not of all. After the Ames contract had been executed, it was expected by those interested that, by reason of the enormous prices agreed to be paid for the work, very large profits would be derived from building the road, and very soon the stock of the Crédit Mobilier was understood to be worth much more than its par value. The stock was not in the market, and had no fixed market value, but the holders of it, in December, 1867, considered it worth at least double the par value, and in January or February, 1868, three or four times the par value; but it does not appear that these facts were generally or publicly known, or that the holders of the stock desired they should be."

As will be seen from the above statement, the stockholders of the Crédit Mobilier were also stockholders in the Union Pacific Company.

Like all great corporations of the present day, the Union Pacific Road was largely dependent upon the aid furnished by the Government for its success. The managers of the company, being shrewd men, succeeded in placing all the burdens and risks of the enterprise upon the General Government, while they secured to themselves all the profits to be derived from the undertaking. 'The Railroad Company was endowed by Act of Congress with twenty alternate sections of land per mile, and had Government-loans of \$16,000 per mile for about 200 miles; thence \$32,000 per mile through the Alkali Desert, about 600 miles, and thence in the Rocky Mountains \$48,000 per mile. The railroad company issued stock to the extent of about \$10,000,000. This stock was received by stockholders on their payment of five per cent. of its face. When the *Crédit Mobilier* came on the scene, all the assets of the Union Pacific were turned over to the new company in consideration of full paid shares of the new company's stock and its agreement to build the road. The Government, meanwhile, had allowed its claim for its loan of bonds to become a second instead of a first mortgage, and permitted the Union Pacific Road to issue first mortgage bonds, which took precedence as a lien on the road. The Government lien thus became almost worthless, as the new mortgage, which took precedence, amounted to all the value of the road. The proceeds of this extraordinary transaction went to swell the profits of the *Crédit Mobilier*, which had nothing to pay out except for the mere cost of construction. This also explains why some of the dividends of the latter company were paid in Union Pacific bonds.

As a result of these processes, the bonded debts of the railroad exceeded its cost by at least \$40,000,000."

Mr. Ames was deeply interested in the scheme, being, indeed, one of its principal managers. Being a member of Congress, he was peculiarly prepared to appreciate the value of Congressional assistance in behalf of the *Crédit Mobilier*. It would seem that the object of the *Crédit Mobilier* was to drain money from the Pacific road, and consequently from the Government, as long as possible. Any legislation on the part of Congress designed to protect the interests of the Government, would, as a matter of course, be unfavorable to the *Crédit Mobilier*, and it was the aim of that corporation to prevent all such legislation. The price agreed upon for building the road was so exorbitant, and afforded such an iniquitous profit to the *Crédit Mobilier*, that it was very certain that some honest friend of the people would demand that Congress should protect the Treasury against such spoliation. It was accordingly determined to interest in the scheme enough members of Congress to prevent any protection of the national treasury at the expense of the unlawful gains of the *Crédit Mobilier*. Mr. Oakes Ames, being in Congress, undertook to secure the desired hold upon his associates. The plan was simply to secure them by bribing them, and for this purpose a certain portion of the *Crédit Mobilier* stock was placed in the hands of Mr. Ames, as trustee, to be used by him as he thought best for the interests of the company.

Provided with this stock, Mr. Ames went to Washington, in December, 1867, at the opening of the session of Congress. "During that month," say the Poland

Committee in their report, " Mr. Ames entered into contracts with a considerable number of members of Congress, both senators and representatives, to let them have shares of stock in the *Crédit Mobilier* Company at par, with interest thereon from the first day of the previous July. It does not appear that in any instance he asked any of these persons to pay a higher price than the par value and interest, nor that Mr. Ames used any special effort or urgency to get these persons to take it. In all these negotiations Mr. Ames did not enter into any details as to the value of the stock, or the amount of dividend that might be expected upon it, but stated generally that it would be good stock, and in several instances said he would guarantee that they should get at least ten per cent. on their money. Some of these gentlemen, in their conversations with Mr. Ames, raised the question whether becoming holders of this stock would bring them into any embarrassment as members of Congress in their legislative action. Mr. Ames quieted such suggestions by saying it could not, for the *Union Pacific* had received from Congress all the grants and legislation it wanted, and they should ask for nothing more. In some instances those members who contracted for stock paid to Mr. Ames the money for the price of the stock, par and interest; in others, where they had not the money, Mr. Ames agreed to 'carry' the stock for them until they could get the money, or it should be met by the dividends. Mr. Ames was at this time a large stockholder in the *Crédit Mobilier*, but he did not intend any of those transactions to be sales of his own stock, but intended to fulfil all these contracts from stock belonging to the company."

“It is very easy,” says the *New York Tribune*, “to see that under these circumstances the stock of the *Crédit Mobilier* was a very handsome investment, provided it could be purchased at par. Here was wherein Oakes Ames was such a profitable friend to Congressmen and senators. He let them in, as he phrases it, on the ground floor. They got their stock at par, and the dividends which were ready to be paid were more than enough to pay for the stock. This is what is called in Wall Street parlance making one hand wash the other. The actual value of the stock thus sold at \$100 a share would have been to anybody out of the circle of Oakes Ames’ friends not purchasable for less than \$300 or \$400. But there was a film of decency thrown over the transactions by Mr. Ames, in charging several months’ interest upon the stock at the time it was sold to the members of Congress. This interest had accrued while he was holding it to see where it could be placed to the best advantage.”

The motive of Mr. Ames in thus “placing,” as he termed it, this immensely profitable stock among the members of Congress, is thus stated by the Poland Committee:

“In relation to the purpose and motive of Mr. Ames in contracting to let members of Congress have *Crédit Mobilier* stock at par, which he and all other owners of it considered worth at least double that sum, the committee, upon the evidence taken by them and submitted to the House, cannot entertain a doubt. When he said he did not suppose the Union Pacific Company would ask or need further legislation, he stated what

he believed to be true, but he feared the interests of the road might suffer by adverse legislation, and what he desired to accomplish was to enlist strength and friends in Congress who would resist any encroachment upon or interference with the rights and privileges already secured, and to that end wished to create in them an interest identical with his own. This purpose is clearly avowed in his letters to McComb, copied in the evidence, where he says he intends to place the stock 'where it will do the most good to us,' and again, 'We want more friends in this Congress.' In his letter to McComb, and also in his statement prepared by counsel, he gives the philosophy of his action, to wit: That he has found there is no difficulty in getting men to look after their own property. The committee are also satisfied that Mr. Ames entertained a fear that when the true relations between the *Crédit Mobilier Company* and the *Union Pacific* became generally known, and the means by which the great profits expected to be made were fully understood, there was danger that Congressional investigation and action would be invoked. The members of Congress with whom he dealt were generally those who had been friendly and favorable to a Pacific railroad, and Mr. Ames did not fear or expect to find them favorable to movements hostile to it, but he desired to stimulate their activity and watchfulness in opposition to any unfavorable action, by giving them a personal interest in the success of the enterprise, especially so far as it affected the interest of the *Crédit Mobilier Company*.

"On the 9th day of December, 1867, Mr. C. C.

Washburn, of Wisconsin, introduced in the House a bill to regulate by law the rates of transportation over the Pacific railroads. Mr. Ames, as well as others interested in the Union Pacific Road, were opposed to this, and desired to defeat it. Other measures apparently hostile to that company were subsequently introduced into the House, by Mr. Washburn, of Wisconsin, and Mr. Washburn, of Illinois. The committee believe that Mr. Ames, in his distribution of the stock had specially in mind the hostile efforts of the Messrs. Washburn, and desired to gain strength to secure their defeat. The reference in one of his letters, to Washburn's move makes this quite apparent."

"The more recent legislation," says the *New York Tribune*, "which Ames' transactions with members of Congress had reference to, may be stated in a few words. Secretary Boutwell insisted that half the earnings of the road in carrying mails and troops for the Government should be applied to the payment of interest on the loans that the Government had made to the road. The legislation obtained overruled the Secretary and enabled the road to postpone payment of interest until the bonds fell due—some thirty years hence. To sum up, it may be briefly stated that the Union Pacific and *Crédit Mobilier* together got the proceeds of liberal United States land grants, of donations of communities near the road, and the entire subsidy of Government bonds, as a clear profit. The proceeds of the mortgage bonds which displaced the Government lien, were sufficient to have built the road. To the original stockholders in the Union Pacific, the profit

was something almost incredible. A share bought for \$5 subscription became \$100 *Crédit Mobilier*, which paid, as we have seen in the evidence concerning the legislators who received it, dividends that amounted to at least treble its nominal value. It is, of course, evident that all legislation which favored the Union Pacific Railroad swelled the profits of the legislators who became stockholders in the *Crédit Mobilier*. The awkwardness of this position was vastly increased by the thin disguise of purchase being torn away, under which the profit-bearing stock had been really the gift of Oakes Ames. The denial of the facts converted the transaction into a criminal act."

Reduced to plain English, the story of the *Crédit Mobilier* is simply this: The men entrusted with the management of the Pacific Road made a bargain with themselves to build the road for a sum equal to about twice its actual cost, and pocketed the profits, which have been estimated at about THIRTY MILLIONS OF DOLLARS—this immense sum coming out of the pockets of the taxpayers of the United States. This contract was made in October, 1867.

"On June 17, 1868, the stockholders of the *Crédit Mobilier* received 60 per cent. in cash, and 40 per cent. in stock of the Union Pacific Railroad; on the 2d of July, 1868, 80 per cent. first mortgage bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad, and 100 per cent. stock; July 3, 1868, 75 per cent. stock, and 75 per cent. first mortgage bonds; September 3, 1868, 100 per cent. stock, and 75 per cent. first mortgage bonds; December 19, 1868, 200 per cent. stock; while, before this contract

was made, the stockholders had received, on the 26th of April, 1866, a dividend of 100 per cent. in stock of the Union Pacific Railroad; on the 1st of April, 1867, 50 per cent. of first mortgage bonds were distributed; on the 1st of July, 1867, 100 per cent. in stock again."

After offering this statement, it is hardly necessary to add that the vast property of the Pacific Road, which should have been used to meet its engagements, was soon swallowed up by the *Crédit Mobilier*.

This is the story of the *Crédit Mobilier*, as far as the facts have been permitted to become known. We shall now see how it came to make such a noise in the world.

Mr. Ames was not the only member of the company engaged in "placing" the stock where it would benefit the corporation. Dr. Durant, the President of the Pacific Railway, was engaged in securing his friends in the same way, and he received a portion of the stock to be used in this manner. Mr. Henry S. McComb, of Delaware, who was also interested in the scheme, now put in his claim for a part of the stock, which was being used as a corruption fund, "for his friends." His claim involved him in a quarrel with Oakes Ames, and Colonel McComb had the mortification of seeing the stock he claimed assigned to Mr. Ames, for the use of *his* friends.

In the summer of 1872, in the midst of the Presidential campaign, the quarrel between Ames and McComb reached such a point, that it was impossible to keep it quiet. McComb made public the facts in the case, and published a list of the Congressmen with whom Ames had said he had "placed" the stock, naming the number

of shares sold to each. These were:—Schuyler Colfax, Vice-President of the United States; Henry Wilson, Senator from Massachusetts; James W. Patterson, Senator from New Hampshire; John A. Logan, Senator from Illinois; James G. Blaine, Member of Congress from Maine, and Speaker of the House of Representatives; W. D. Kelley, of Pennsylvania; James A. Garfield, of Ohio; James Brooks, of New York; John A. Bingham, of Ohio; Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts; Glenni W. Scofield, of Pennsylvania, and one or two others, who were not at the time of the exposure members of Congress.

As may be supposed, the publication of the charges, and the list of names, created a storm of excitement throughout the country. The members implicated, as a rule, indignantly denied the charge of having purchased or owned *Crédit Mobilier* stock. They declared themselves incapable of holding such stock, as it would have been, they said, a high crime against morality and decency to be connected in any way with the *Crédit Mobilier*. These denials were generally accepted. The persons making them had always borne high characters for veracity and integrity. Partisan orators and newspapers made the most of the charges, and made them so odious that the persons implicated repeated their denials with more earnestness.

When Congress assembled, in December, 1872, Mr. Blaine, the Speaker of the House, wishing to vindicate his character, which he declared had been unjustly assailed, asked the House of Representatives to appoint a committee to inquire into the charges of Ames and

McComb, and to report the result of their investigations. The committee was appointed, with Mr. Poland, of Vermont, as its chairman. An effort was made to conduct the investigation in secret; but the indignant public demanded and obtained an open trial. On the 18th of February, 1873, the committee reported to the House the result of its investigation.

General Garfield was one of those charged with participating in the corrupt profits of the *Crédit Mobilier*. He made public an emphatic denial of the charge, and cordially aided in the effort to have the charges investigated and the truth brought to light. Feeling that he had nothing to conceal, he was anxious that the most searching inquiry should be made into the matter. On the 14th of January, 1873, he appeared before the investigating committee, and testified as follows, under oath:

“The first I ever heard of the *Crédit Mobilier* was sometime in 1866 or 1867—I cannot fix the date—when George Francis Train called on me and said he was organizing a company to be known as the *Crédit Mobilier of America*, to be formed on the model of the *Crédit Mobilier of France*; that the object of the company was to purchase lands and build houses along the line of the Pacific Railroad at points where cities and villages were likely to spring up; that he had no doubt that money thus invested would double or treble itself each year; that subscriptions were limited to \$1,000 each, and he wished me to subscribe. He showed me a long list of subscribers, among them Mr. Oakes Ames, to whom he referred me for further information concerning the enter-

prise. I answered that I had not the money to spare, and if I had I would not subscribe without knowing more about the proposed organization. Mr. Train left me, saying he would hold a place open for me, and hoped I would conclude to subscribe. The same day I asked Mr. Ames what he thought of the enterprise. He expressed the opinion that the investment would be safe and profitable.

“I heard nothing further on the subject for a year or more, and it was almost forgotten, when sometime, I should say during the long session of 1868, Mr. Ames spoke of it again, said the company had organized, was doing well, and, he thought, would soon pay large dividends. He said that some of the stock was left, or was to be left, in his hands to sell, and I could take the amount which Mr. Train had offered me by paying the \$1,000 and accrued interest. He said if I was not able to pay for it he would hold it for me until I could pay or until some of the dividends were payable. I told him I would consider the matter, but would not agree to take any stock until I knew, from an examination of the charter and the conditions of the subscription, the extent to which I would become pecuniarily liable. He said he was not sure, but thought a stockholder would only be liable for the par value of his stock; that he had not the stock and papers with him, but would have them after awhile. From the case as presented I should probably have taken the stock if I had been satisfied in regard to the extent of pecuniary liability. Thus the matter rested, I think, until the following year. During that interval I understood that there were dividends due amounting to nearly

three times the par value of the stock. But in the meantime I had heard that the company was involved in some controversy with the Pacific Railroad and that Mr. Ames' right to sell the stock was denied. When I next saw Mr. Ames I told him I had concluded not to take the stock. There the matter ended, so far as I was concerned, and I had no further knowledge of the company's operations until the subject began to be discussed in the newspapers last fall (1872). Nothing was ever said to me by Mr. Train or Mr. Ames to indicate or imply that the *Crédit Mobilier* was or could be in any way connected with the legislation of Congress for the Pacific Railroad or any other purpose. Mr. Ames never gave nor offered to give me any stock or other valuable thing as a gift. I once asked and obtained from him, and afterwards repaid to him, a loan of \$300; that amount is the only valuable thing I ever received from or delivered to him. I never owned, received, or agreed to receive any stock of the *Credit Mobilier* or of the Union Pacific Railroad, nor any dividends or profits arising from either of them."

Not content with denying the charges against him under oath, General Garfield, on the 3d of March, 1873, gave notice in the House that he should publish a review of the matter, and a full vindication of his course.

In May, 1873, he published the following review. We reproduce it entire, notwithstanding its length, as it is of the greatest importance to those who would know the true history of the case. The old charges will be revived and used during the Presidential campaign by partisan enemies of the Republican candidate, and it is

only right that every friend of General Garfield should have his masterly and unanswerable vindication at hand.

The review was prefaced with the following note :

“Since this review was written, the telegraph has announced the death of Mr. Ames. This circumstance may raise a question as to the propriety of publishing this paper ; but I gave notice in the House of Representatives, on the 3d of March last, that I should publish such a review, and I then indicated its scope and character. Furthermore, justice to the living cannot wrong the memory of the dead.

“In revising these pages, as they are passing through the press, I am glad to find no expressions, prompted by a spirit of bitterness, which the presence of death requires me to erase.

“ J. A. GARFIELD.”

“*Washington, D. C., May 8, 1873.*”

REVIEW OF THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE CREDIT MOBILIER COMPANY,

And an Examination of that Portion of the Testimony taken by the Committee of Investigation and reported to the House of Representatives at the last session of the forty-second Congress, which relates to Mr. GARFIELD.

The events of the late winter recall forcibly a declaration made more than twenty-two centuries ago, by a man who possessed a profound knowledge of human nature and society. In answering a grave charge made

against his public conduct, he said he did not stand on equal ground with his accusers, for the reason that people listen to accusation more readily than to defence. This remark has sometimes been thought cynical and unjust; but there is much in our recent history that gives it force.

In no period of the political life of this country has the appetite for scandal been keener, or its exercise less restrained, than during the last year. One of our most brilliant and influential journalists, in an address delivered a few days since to a convention of his professional brethren in Indiana, while speaking of the present tone of the press, used this emphatic language:

The law presumes a man to be innocent until he is proved guilty.

The press, not merely usurping the functions of the law in arraignment a man whom the constable has no warrant to arrest, goes still farther, and assumes him, *prima facie*, to be guilty. After many weeks, if the case of the accused comes to trial, he is acquitted; the law makes him an honest man; but there is the newspaper which has condemned him, and cannot, with a dozen retractions, erase the impression left and the damage done by a single paragraph.

It might not be becoming in a layman, who feels in his own case the force of this paragraph, to volunteer such a declaration; but it is quite proper for him to testify to its truth when thus forcibly stated.

This paragraph from the address of the journalist finds a striking illustration in the history of the subject now under review.

In the autumn of 1872, during the excitement of the Presidential campaign, charges of the most serious

character were made against ten or twelve persons who were then, or had recently been, senators and representatives in Congress, to the effect that, five years ago, they had sold themselves for sundry amounts of stock of the *Crédit Mobilier Company* and bonds of the *Pacific Railroad Company*. The price at which different members were alleged to have bartered away their personal honor and their official influence was definitely set down in the newspapers; their guilt was assumed, and the public vengeance was invoked not only upon them, but also upon the party to which most of them belonged.

CREDIT MOBILIER INVESTIGATION.

By a resolution of the House, introduced by one of the accused members, and adopted on the first day of the late session, an investigation of these charges was ordered. The parties themselves and many other witnesses were examined; the records of the *Crédit Mobilier Company* and of the *Pacific Railroad Company* were produced; and the results of the investigation were reported to the House on the 18th of February. The report, with the accompanying testimony, was brought up in the House for consideration on the 25th of February, and the discussion was continued until the subject was finally disposed of, three days before the close of the session. The investigation was scarcely begun before it was manifest that the original charge, that stock was given to members as a consideration for their votes, was wholly abandoned, there being no proof whatever to support it.

But the charge assumed a new form, namely: That

the stock had been sold to members, at a price known to be greatly below its actual value, for the purpose of securing their legislative influence in favor of those who were managing and manipulating the Pacific Railroad for their own private advantage and to the injury both of the trust and of the United States. Eight of those against whom charges had been made in the public press, myself among the number, were still members of the House of Representatives, and were specially mentioned in the report. The committee recommended the adoption of resolutions for the expulsion of Messrs. Ames and Brooks, the latter on charges in no way connected with Mr. Ames or the other members mentioned. They recommended the expulsion of Mr. Ames for an attempt to influence the votes and decisions of members of Congress by interesting them in the stock of the *Crédit Mobilier*, and through it in the stock of the Union Pacific Railroad. They found that though Mr. Ames in no case disclosed his purpose to these members, yet he hoped so to enlist their interest that they would be inclined to favor any legislation in aid of the Pacific Railroad and its interests, and that he declared to the managers of the *Crédit Mobilier* Company at the time that he was thus using the stock which had been placed in his hands by the company.

Concerning the members to whom he had sold, or offered to sell, the stock, the committee say that they "do not find that Mr. Ames, in his negotiations with the persons above named, entered into any detail of the relations between the *Credit Mobilier* Company and the Union Pacific Company, or gave them any specific in-

formation as to the amount of dividends they would be likely to receive farther than has been already stated, [viz., that in some cases he had guaranteed a profit of ten per cent.] . . . They do not find as to the members of the present House above named, that they were aware of the object of Mr. Ames, or that they had any other purpose in taking this stock than to make a profitable investment. . . . They have not been able to find that any of these members of Congress have been affected in their official action in consequence of interest in the *Crédit Mobilier* stock. . . . They do not find that either of the above-named gentlemen in contracting with Mr. Ames had any corrupt motive or purpose himself or was aware Mr. Ames had any. Nor did either of them suppose he was guilty of any impropriety or even indelicacy in becoming a purchaser of this stock." And finally, that "the committee find nothing in the conduct or motives of either of these members in taking this stock, that calls for any recommendation by the committee of the House." (See pp. viii. ix. x.)

In the case of each of the six members just referred to, the committee sum up the results of the testimony, and from that summary the conclusions above quoted are drawn. In regard to me, the committee find: That, in December, 1867, or January, 1868, I agreed to purchase ten shares of *Crédit Mobilier* stock of Mr. Ames, for \$1,000, and the accrued interest from the previous July; that in June, 1868, Mr. Ames paid me a check on the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House for \$329, as a balance of dividends on the stock, above the purchase-price and accrued interest; and that thereafter, there

were no payments or other transactions between us, or any communication on the subject until the investigation began in December last. (See Report, p. vii.)

I took the first opportunity offered by the completion of public business to call the attention of the House to the above summary of the testimony in reference to me. On the 3d of March I made the following remarks, in the House of Representatives, as recorded in the Congressional *Globe* for that day :

Mr. Garfield, of Ohio.—I rise to a personal explanation. During the late investigation by the committee of which the gentleman from Vermont (Mr. Poland) was the chairman, I pursued what seemed to be the plain path of duty, to keep silence except when I was called upon to testify before the committee. When testimony was given which appeared to be in conflict with mine, I waited, expecting to be called again if anything was needed from me in reference to these discrepancies. I was not recalled ; and when the committee submitted their report to the House, a considerable portion of the testimony relating to me had not been printed.

In the discussion which followed here I was prepared to submit some additional facts and considerations in case my own conduct came up for consideration in the House ; but the whole subject was concluded without any direct reference to myself, and since then the whole time of the House has been occupied with the public business. I now desire to make a single remark on this subject in the hearing of the House. Though the committee acquitted me of all charges of corruption in action or intent, yet there is in the report a summing up of the facts in relation to me which I respectfully protest is not warranted by the testimony. I say this with the utmost respect for the committee, and without intending any reflection upon them.

I cannot now enter upon the discussion ; but I propose, before long, to make a statement to the public, setting forth more fully the grounds of my dissent from the summing up to which I have

referred. I will only say now that the testimony which I gave before the committee is a statement of the facts in the case as I have understood them from the beginning. More than three years ago, on at least two occasions, I stated the case to two personal friends substantially as I stated it before the committee, and I here add that nothing in my conduct or conversation has at any time been in conflict with my testimony. For the present I desire only to place on record this declaration and notice.

In pursuance of this notice, I shall consider so much of the history of the Crédit Mobilier Company as has any relation to myself. To render the discussion intelligible, I will first state briefly the offences which that corporation committed, as found by the committees of the House.

HISTORY OF THE CREDIT MOBILIER COMPANY.

The Crédit Mobilier Company is a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, and authorized by its charter to purchase and sell various kinds of securities and to make advances of money and credit to railroad and other improvement companies. Its charter describes a class of business which, if honestly conducted, any citizen may properly engage in.

On the 16th of August, 1867, Mr. Oakes Ames made a contract with the Union Pacific Railroad Company to build six hundred and sixty-seven miles of road, from the one hundredth meridian westward, at rates ranging from \$42,000 to \$96,000 per mile. For executing this contract he was to receive in the aggregate \$47,925,000, in cash or in the securities of the company.

On the 15th of October, a triple contract was made between *Mr. Ames* of the *first part*, seven persons as

trustees of the *second part*, and the Crédit Mobilier Company of the *third part*, by the terms of which the Crédit Mobilier Company was to advance money to build the road, and to receive thereon seven per cent. interest and two and a half per cent. commission; the seven trustees were to execute the Ames contract, and the profits thereon were to be divided among them, and such other stockholders of the Crédit Mobilier Company as should deliver to them an irrevocable proxy to vote the stock of the Union Pacific held by them. The principal stockholders of the Crédit Mobilier Company were also holders of a majority of the stock of the Union Pacific Railroad.

On the face of this agreement, the part to be performed by the Crédit Mobilier Company as a corporation was simple and unobjectionable. It was to advance money to the contractors and to receive therefor about ten per cent. as interest and commission. This explains how it was that in a suit in the courts of Pennsylvania in 1870, to collect the State tax on the profits of the company, its managers swore that the company had never declared dividends to an aggregate of more than twelve present. The company proper did not receive the profits of the Oakes Ames contract. The profits were paid only to the seven trustees and to such stockholders of the Crédit Mobilier as had delivered to them the proxies on their Pacific Railroad stock. In other words, a ring inside the Crédit Mobilier obtained the control both of that corporation and of the profits of the Ames contract.

By a private agreement made in writing October 16, 1867, the day after the triple contract was signed, the seven trustees pledged themselves to each other so to

vote all the Pacific Railroad stock which they held in their own right or by proxy, as to keep in power all the members of the then existing board of directors of the railroad company not appointed by the President of the United States, or such other persons as said board should nominate. By this agreement, the election of a majority of the directors was wholly within the power of the seven trustees. From all this it resulted that the Ames contract and the triple agreement made in October amounted in fact to a contract made by seven leading stockholders of the Pacific Railroad Company with themselves; so that the men who fixed the price at which the road was to be built were the same men who would receive the profits of the contract.

The wrong in this transaction consisted, first in the fact that the stockholding directors of the Pacific Railroad, being the guardians of a great public trust, contracted with themselves; and, second, that they paid themselves an exorbitant price for the work to be done, a price which virtually brought into their own possession, as private individuals, almost all the property of the railroad company. The six hundred and sixty-seven miles covered by the contract included one hundred and thirty-eight miles already completed, the profits on which inured to the benefit of the contractors. (See Report of *Crédit Mobilier* Committee, No. 2, p. xiii.)

The *Crédit Mobilier* Company had already been engaged in various enterprises before the connection with the Ames contract. George Francis Train had once been the principal owner of its franchises, and it had owned some western lands (Wilson's Report, pp. 497, 8); but

its enterprises had not been very remunerative, and its stock had not been worth par. The triple contract of October, 1867, gave it at once considerable additional value. It should be borne in mind, however, that the relations of the Crédit Mobilier Company to the seven trustees, to the Oakes Ames contract, and to the Pacific Railroad Company, were known to but few persons until long afterward, and that it was for the interest of the parties to keep them secret. Indeed, nothing was known of it to the general public until the facts were brought out in the recent investigations.

In view of the facts above stated, it is evident that a purchaser of such shares of Crédit Mobilier stock as were brought under the operation of the triple contract would be a sharer in the profits derived by that arrangement from the assets of the Pacific Railroad, a large part of which consisted of bonds and lands granted to the road by the United States. The holding of such stock by a member of Congress would depend for its moral qualities wholly upon the fact whether he did or did not know of the arrangement out of which the profits would come. If he knew of the fraudulent arrangement by which the bonds and lands of the United States delivered to the Union Pacific Railroad Company for the purpose of constructing its road were to be paid out at enormously extravagant rates, and the proceeds to be paid out as dividends to a ring of stockholders made the Crédit Mobilier Company, he could not with any propriety hold such stock, or agree to hold it, or any of its proceeds. And for a member of Congress, knowing the facts, to hold under advisement a proposition to buy this stock would

be morally as wrong as to hold it and receive the profits upon it. If it was morally wrong to purchase it, it was morally wrong to hesitate whether to purchase it or not.

I put the case on the highest ethical ground, and ask that this rule be applied in all its severity in judging of my relations on this subject.

PROPOSITIONS TO BE DISCUSSED.

The committee found, as already stated, that none of the six members to whom Mr. Ames sold, or proposed to sell, the stock, knew of this arrangement. I shall, however, discuss the subject only in so far as relates to me, and shall undertake to establish three propositions :

First. That I never purchased nor agreed to purchase the stock, nor received any of its dividends.

Second. That though an offer was made, which I had some time under advisement, to sell me \$1,000 worth of the stock, I did not then know, nor had I the means of knowing, the real conditions with which the stock was connected, or the method by which its profits were to be made.

Third. That my testimony before the committee is a statement of the facts as I have always understood them ; and that neither before the committee nor elsewhere has there been, on my part, any prevarication or evasion on the subject.

MR. GARFIELD'S TESTIMONY.

My testimony was delivered before the investigating committee on the 14th of January. That portion which precedes the cross-examination, I had written out soon

after the committee was appointed. I quote from it, with the cross-examination, in full, as found recorded on pp. 128 to 131 :

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 14, 1875.

J. A. Garfield, a member of the United States House of Representatives, from the State of Ohio, having been duly sworn, made the following statement :

The first I ever heard of the *Crédit Mobilier* was sometime in 1866 or 1867—I cannot fix the date—when George Francis Train called on me and said he was organizing a company to be known as the *Crédit Mobilier* of America, to be formed on the model of the *Crédit Mobilier* of France ; that the object of the company was to purchase land and build houses along the line of the Pacific Railroad at points where cities and villages were likely to spring up ; that he had no doubt that money thus invested would double or treble itself each year ; that subscriptions were limited to \$1,000 each, and he wished me to subscribe. He showed me a long list of subscribers, among them Mr. Oakes Ames, to whom he referred me for further information concerning the enterprise. I answered that I had not the money to spare, and if I had I would not subscribe without knowing more about the proposed organization. Mr. Train left me, saying he would hold a place open for me, and hoped I would yet conclude to subscribe. The same day I asked Mr. Ames what he thought of the enterprise. He expressed the opinion that the investment would be safe and profitable.

I heard nothing further on the subject for a year or more, and it was almost forgotten, when sometime, I should say, during the long session of 1868, Mr. Ames spoke of it again ; said the company had organized, was doing well, and he thought would soon pay large dividends. He said that some of the stock had been left or was to be left in his hands to sell, and I could take the amount which Mr. Train had offered me, by paying the \$1,000 and the accrued interest. He said if I was not able to pay for it then, he would hold it for me till I could pay, or until some of the dividends were payable. I told him I would consider the

matter ; but would not agree to take any stock until I knew, from an examination of the character and the conditions of the subscription, the extent to which I should become pecuniarily liable. He said he was not sure, but thought a stockholder would be liable only for the par value of his stock ; that he had not the stock and papers with him, but would have them after a while.

From the case, as presented, I should probably have taken the stock if I had been satisfied in regard to the extent of pecuniary liability. Thus the matter rested for some time, I think until the following year. During that interval I understood that there were dividends due amounting to nearly three times the par value of the stock. But in the meantime I had heard that the company was involved in some controversy with the Pacific Railroad, and that Mr. Ames's right to sell the stock was denied. When I next saw Mr. Ames I told him I had concluded not to take the stock. There the matter ended, so far as I was concerned, and I had no further knowledge of the company's operations until the subject began to be discussed in the newspapers last fall.

Nothing was ever said to me by Mr. Train or Mr. Ames to indicate or imply that the *Crédit Mobilier* was or could be in any way connected with the legislation of Congress for the Pacific Railroad or for any other purpose. Mr. Ames never gave, nor offered to give, me any stock or other valuable thing as a gift. I once asked and obtained from him, and afterwards repaid to him, a loan of \$300 ; that amount is the only valuable thing I ever received from or delivered to him.

I never owned, received, or agreed to receive any stock of the *Crédit Mobilier* or of the Union Pacific Railroad, nor any dividends or profits arising from either of them.

By the Chairman :

Question. Had this loan you speak of any connection in any way with your conversation in regard to the *Crédit Mobilier* stock ?
Answer. No connection in any way except in regard to the time of payment. Mr. Ames stated to me that if I concluded to subscribe for the *Crédit Mobilier* stock, I could allow the loan to re-

main until the payment on that was adjusted. I never regarded it as connected in any other way with the stock enterprise.

Q. Do you remember the time of that transaction? A. I do not remember it precisely. I should think it was in the session of 1868. I had been to Europe the fall before and was in debt, and borrowed several sums of money at different times and from different persons. This loan from Mr. Ames was not at his instance. I made the request myself. I think I had asked one or two persons before him for the loan.

Q. Have you any knowledge in reference to any dealings of Mr. Ames with any gentlemen in Congress in reference to the stock of the *Crédit Mobilier*? A. No, sir; I have not. I had no knowledge that Mr. Ames had ever talked with anybody but myself. It was a subject I gave but little attention to; in fact, many of the details had almost passed out of my mind until they were called up in the late campaign.

By Mr. Black:

Q. Did you say you refused to take the stock simply because there was a lawsuit about it? A. No; not exactly that. I do not remember any other reason which I gave to Mr. Ames than that I did not wish to take stock in anything that would involve controversy. I think I gave him no other reason than that.

Q. When you ascertained the relation that this company had with the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and whence its profits were to be derived, would you have considered that a sufficient reason for declining it irrespective of other considerations? A. It would have been as the case was afterwards stated.

Q. At the time you talked with Mr. Ames, before you rejected the proposition, you did not know whence the profits of the company were to be derived? A. I did not. I do not know that Mr. Ames withheld, intentionally, from me any information. I had derived my original knowledge of the organization of the company from Mr. Train. He made quite an elaborate statement of its purposes, and I proceeded in subsequent conversations upon the supposition that the organization was unchanged. I ought to say for myself, as well as for Mr. Ames, that he never said any

word to me that indicated the least desire to influence my legislative action in any way. If he had any such purpose, he certainly never said anything to me which would indicate it.

Q. You know now, and have known for a long time, that Mr. Ames was deeply interested in the legislation on this subject?

A. I supposed that he was largely interested in the Union Pacific Railroad. I have heard various statements to that effect. I cannot say I had any such information of my own knowledge.

Q. You mean that he did not electioneer with you or solicit your vote? A. Certainly not. None of the conversations I ever had with him had any reference to such legislation.

By Mr. Merrick :

Q. Have you any knowledge of any other member of Congress being concerned in the *Crédit Mobilier* stock? A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. Or any stock in the Union Pacific Railroad? A. I have not. I can say to the committee that I never saw, I believe, in my life, a certificate of stock of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and I never saw any certificate of stock of the *Crédit Mobilier*, until Mr. Brooks exhibited one, a few days ago, in the House of Representatives.

Q. Were any dividends ever tendered to you on the stock of the *Crédit Mobilier* upon the supposition that you were to be a subscriber? A. No, sir.

Q. This loan of \$300 you have repaid, if I understand you correctly? A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. McCrary :

Q. You never examined the charter of the *Crédit Mobilier* to see what were its objects? A. No, sir; I never saw it.

Q. If I understood you, you did not know that the *Crédit Mobilier* had any connection with the Union Pacific Railroad Company? A. I understood from the statement of Mr. Train that its objects were connected with the lands of the Union Pacific Railroad Company and the development and settlements along that road; but that it had any relation to the Union Pacific Railroad,

other than that, I did not know. I think I did hear also that the company was investing some of its earnings in the bonds of the road.

Q. He stated it was for the purpose of purchasing land and building houses? A. That was the statement of Mr. Train. I think he said in that connection that he had already been doing something of that kind at Omaha, or was going to do it.

Q. You did not know that the object was to build the Union Pacific Railroad? A. No, sir; I did not.

This is the case as I understand it, and as I have always understood it. In reviewing it, after all that has been said and written during the past winter, there are no substantial changes which I could now make, except to render a few points more definite. Few men can be certain that they give with absolute correctness the details of conversations and transactions after a lapse of five years. Subject to this limitation I have no doubt of the accuracy of my remembrance concerning this transaction.

From this testimony it will be seen that when Mr. Ames offered to sell me the stock in 1867-'68, my only knowledge of the character and objects of the *Crédit Mobilier* Company was obtained from Mr. Train, at least as early as the winter of 1866-'67, long before the company had become a party to the construction contract. It has been said that I am mistaken in thinking it was the *Crédit Mobilier* that Mr. Train offered me in 1866-'67. I think I am not. Mr. Durant, in explaining his connection with the *Crédit Mobilier* Company, says (pp. 169, 170):

I sent Mr. Train to Philadelphia. We wanted it (the *Crédit Mobilier*) for a stock operation, but we could not agree what was

to be done with it. Mr. Train proposed to go on an expanded scale, but I abandoned it. I think Mr. Train got some subscriptions; what they were I do not know.

It has been said that it is absurd to suppose that intelligent men, familiar with public affairs, did not understand all about the relation of the *Crédit Mobilier* Company to the Pacific Railroad Company. It is a sufficient answer to say that, until the present winter, a few men either in or out of Congress ever understood it, and it was for the interest of those in the management of that arrangement to prevent these facts from being known. This will appear from the testimony of the Hon. J. F. Wilson, who purchased ten shares of the stock in 1868. In the spring of 1869 he was called upon professionally to give an opinion as to the right of holders of Pacific Railroad stock to vote their own shares, notwithstanding the proxy they had given to the seven trustees. To enable him to understand the case, a copy of the triple contract was placed in his hands. He says (page 213):

Down to the time these papers were placed in my hands, I knew almost nothing of the organization and details of the *Crédit Mobilier*, or the value of its stock, but then saw that here was abundant ground for future trouble and litigation, and, as one of the results, sold out my interest.

And again (p. 216):

Q. Do you, or did you know, at the time you had this negotiation with Mr. Ames, the value of the *Crédit Mobilier* stock?
A. I did not; and I wish to state here, in regard to that, that it was a very difficult thing to ascertain what was the value of the stock. Those who, as I say in my statement, possessed the secrets

of the *Crédit Mobilier*, kept them to themselves; and I never was able to get any definite information as to what the value of the stock was.

When, in the winter of 1867-'68, Mr. Ames proposed to sell me some of the stock, I regarded it as a mere repetition of the offer made by Mr. Train more than a year before. The company was the same, and the amount offered me was the same. Mr. Ames knew it had formerly been offered me, for I had then asked him his opinion of such an investment; and having understood the objects of the company, as stated by Mr. Train, I did not inquire further on that point.

There could not be the slightest impropriety in taking the stock, had the objects of the company been such as Mr. Train represented them to me. The only question on which I then hesitated was that of the personal pecuniary liability attaching to a subscription; and, to settle that question, I asked to see the charter, and the conditions on which the stock were based. I have no doubt Mr. Ames expected I would subscribe. But more than a year passed without further discussion of the subject. The papers were not brought, and the purchase never was made.

In the winter of 1869-'70, I received the first intimation I ever had of the real nature of the connection between the *Crédit Mobilier Company* and the *Pacific Railroad Company*, in a private conversation with the Hon. J. S. Black, of Pennsylvania. Finding in the course of that conversation that he was familiar with the history of the enterprise, I told him all I knew about the matter, and informed him of the offer that had been made me. He

expressed the opinion that the managers of the *Crédit Mobilier* were attempting to defraud the Pacific Railroad Company, and informed me that Mr. Ames was pretending to have sold stock to members of Congress, for the purpose of influencing their action in any legislation that might arise on the subject.

Though I had neither done nor said anything which placed me under any obligation to take the stock, I at once informed Mr. Ames that if he was still holding the offer open to me he need do so no longer, for I would not take the stock. This I did immediately after the conversation with Judge Black, which according to his own recollection as well as mine, was early in the winter of 1869-'70.

One circumstance has given rise to a painful conflict of testimony between Mr. Ames and myself. I refer to the loan of \$300. Among the various criticisms that have been made on this subject, it is said to be a suspicious circumstance that I should have borrowed so small a sum of money from Mr. Ames about this time. As stated in my testimony, I had just returned from Europe, only a few days before the session began, and the expenses of the trip had brought me short of funds. I might have alluded in the same connection to the fact, that before going abroad I had obtained money from a banker in New York, turning over to him advanced drafts for several months of my Congressional salary when it should be due. And needing a small sum, early in the session, for current expenses, I asked it of Mr. Ames, for the reason that he had volunteered to put me in the way of making what he thought would be a profitable invest-

ment. He gave me the money, asking for no receipt, but saying at the time that if I concluded to take the stock we would settle both matters together. I am not able to fix the exact date of the loan, but it was probably in January, 1868.

Mr. Ames seemed to have forgotten this circumstance until I mentioned it to him after the investigation began; for he said in his first testimony (p. 28) that he had forgotten that he had let me have any money. I neglected to pay him this money until after the conversation with Judge Black, partly because of my pecuniary embarrassments, and partly because no conclusion had been reached in regard to the purchase of the stock. When I repaid him I took no receipt, as I had given none at the first.

Mr. Ames said once or twice, in the course of his testimony, that I did not repay it, although he says in regard to it, on page 358, that he does not know and cannot remember.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONY.

On these differences of recollection between Mr. Ames and myself, it is not so important to show that my statement is the correct one, as to show that I have made it strictly in accordance with my understanding of the facts. And this I am able to show by proof entirely independent of my own testimony.

In the spring of 1868, the Hon. J. P. Robison, of Cleveland, Ohio, was my guest here in Washington, and spent nearly two weeks with me during the trial of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. There has existed

between us an intimate acquaintance of long standing, and I have often consulted him on business affairs. On meeting him since the adjournment of Congress, he informs me that while he was visiting me on the occasion referred to, I stated to him the offer of Mr. Ames, and asked him his opinion of it. The following letter, just received from him, states the conversation as he remembers it:

CLEVELAND, Ohio, May 1, 1873.

DEAR GENERAL:—I send you the facts concerning a conversation which I had with you (I think in the spring of 1868), when I was stopping in Washington for some days, as your guest, during the trial of the impeachment of President Johnson. While there, you told me that Mr. Ames had offered you a chance to invest a small amount in a company that was to operate in lands and buildings along the Pacific Railroad, which he (Ames) said would be a good thing. You asked me what I thought of it as a business proposition; that you had not determined what you would do about it, and suggested to me to talk with Ames, and form my own judgment; and if I thought well enough of it to advance the money and buy the stock on joint account with you, and let you pay me interest on the one-half, I could do so. But I did not think well of the proposition as a business enterprise, and did not talk with Mr. Ames on the subject.

After this talk, having at first told you I would give the subject thought, and perhaps talk with Ames, I told you one evening that I did not think well of the proposition, and had not spoken to Ames on the subject. Yours, truly,

J. P. ROBISON.

Hon. J. A. GARFIELD.

I subjoin two other letters, which were written about the time the report of the committee was made, and to which I refer in my remarks made on the 3d of March in the House of Representatives. The first is from a

citizen of the town where I reside; and the time of the conversation to which it alludes was, as near as I can remember, in the fall of 1868, during the recess of Congress :

HIRAM, Ohio, February 18, 1873.

DEAR SIR :—It may be relevant to the question at issue between yourself and Mr. Oakes Ames, in the *Crédit Mobilier* investigation, for me to state that three or four years ago, in a private conversation, you made a statement to me involving the substance of your testimony before the Poland Committee, as published in the newspapers. The material points of your statement were these :

That you had been spoken to by George Francis Train, who offered you some shares of the *Crédit Mobilier* stock; that you told him that you had no money to invest in stocks; that subsequently you had a conversation in relation to the matter with Mr. Ames; that Ames offered to carry the stock for you until you could pay for it, if you cared to buy it; and that you had told him in that case perhaps you would take it, but would not agree to do so until you had inquired more fully into the matter. Such an arrangement as this was made, Ames agreeing to carry the stock until you should decide. In this way the matter stood, as I understood it, at the time of our conversation. My understanding was distinct that you had not accepted Mr. Ames's proposition, but that the shares were still held at your option.

You stated further, that the company was to operate in real property along the line of the Pacific road. Perhaps I should add that this conversation, which I have always remembered very distinctly, took place here in Hiram. I have remembered the conversation the more distinctly from the circumstances that gave rise to it. Having been intimately acquainted with you for twelve or fifteen years, and having had a considerable knowledge of your pecuniary affairs. I asked you how you were getting on, and especially whether you were managing to reduce your debts. In reply you gave me a detailed statement of your affairs, and concluded by saying you had had some stock offered you, which, if

you bought it, would probably make you some money. You then proceeded to state the case, as I have stated it above.

I cannot fix the time of this conversation more definitely than to say it was certainly three, and probably four, years ago.

Very truly, yours,

B. A. HINSDALE,
President of Hiram College.

Hon. J. A. GARFIELD,
Washington, D. C.

The other letter was addressed to the Speaker of the House, and is as follows :

PHILADELPHIA, February 15, 1873.

MY DEAR SIR :—From the beginning of the investigation concerning Mr. Ames's use of the *Crédit Mobilier*, I believed that General Garfield was free from all guilty connection with that business. This opinion was founded not merely on my confidence in his integrity, but on some special knowledge of his case. I may have told you all about it in conversation, but I desire now to repeat it by way of reminder.

I assert unhesitatingly that, whatever General Garfield may have done or forborne to do, he acted in profound ignorance of the nature and character of the thing which Mr. Ames was proposing to sell. He had not the slightest suspicion that he was to be taken into a ring organized for the purpose of defrauding the public ; nor did he know that the stock was in any manner connected with anything which came, or could come, with the legislative jurisdiction of Congress. The case against him lacks the *scienter* which alone constitutes guilt.

In the winter of 1869-'70, I told General Garfield of the fact that his name was on Ames's list ; that Ames charged him with being one of his distributees ; explained to him the character, origin, and objects of the *Crédit Mobilier* ; pointed out the connection it had with Congressional legislation, and showed him how impossible it was for a member of Congress to hold stock in it without bringing his private interests in conflict with his public duty. That all this was to him a perfectly new revelation I am

as sure as I can be of such a fact, or of any fact which is capable of being proved only by moral circumstances. He told me, then, the whole story of Train's offer to him and Ames's subsequent solicitation, and his own action in the premises, much as he details it to the committee. I do not undertake to reproduce the conversation, but the effect of it all was to convince me thoroughly that when he listened to Ames he was perfectly unconscious of anything evil. I watched carefully every word that fell from him on this point, and did not regard his narrative of the transaction in other respects with much interest, because in my view everything else was insignificant. I did not care whether he had made a bargain technically binding or not; his integrity depended upon the question whether he acted with his eyes open. 'If he had known the true character of the proposition made to him he would not have endured it, much less embraced it.

Now, couple this with Mr. Ames's admission that he gave no explanation whatever of the matter to General Garfield; then reflect that not a particle of proof exists to show that he learned anything about it previous to his conversation with me, and I think you will say that it is altogether unjust to put him on the list of those who, knowingly and wilfully, joined the fraudulent association in question.

J. S. BLACK.

Hon. J. G. BLAINE,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

To these may be added the fact, recently published by Colonel Donn Piatt, of this city, that in the winter of 1869-'70 he had occasion to look into the history of the *Crédit Mobilier Company*, and found the same state of facts concerning my connection with it as are set forth in the letters quoted above.

Whether my understanding of the facts is correct or not, it is manifest from the testimony given above that in the spring of 1868, and in the autumn of that year, and again in the winter of 1869, when I could have no motive

to misrepresent the facts, I stated the case to these gentlemen, substantially as it is stated in my testimony before the committee.

RESPONSE TO THE CHARGE IN SEPTEMBER, 1872.

But it has been charged in the newspapers that during the Presidential campaign, I denied any knowledge of the subject, or at least that I allowed the impression to be made upon the public mind that I knew nothing of it. To this I answer, I wrote no letter on the subject and made no statement in any public address, except to deny in the broadest terms, the only charge then made, that I had been bribed by Oakes Ames.

When the charges first appeared in the newspapers, I was in Montana Territory, and heard nothing of them until my return on the 13th or 14th of September. On the following day I met General Boynton, correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, and related to him briefly what I remembered about the offer to sell the stock. I told him I should write no letter on the subject, but if he thought best to publish the substance of what I had stated to him he could do so. The same day he wrote and telegraphed from Washington to the Cincinnati *Gazette*, under date of September 15, 1872, the following, which is a brief but correct report of my statement to him :

General Garfield, who has just arrived here from the Indian country, has to-day had the first opportunity of seeing the charges connecting his name with receiving shares of the *Crédit Mobilier* from Oakes Ames. He authorizes the statement that he never subscribed for a single share of the stock, and that he never re-

ceived or saw a share of it. When the company was first formed, George Francis Train, then active in it, came to Washington and exhibited a list of subscribers, of leading capitalists and some members of Congress, to the stock of the company. The subscription was described as a popular one of \$1,000 cash. Train urged General Garfield to subscribe on two occasions, and each time he declined. Subsequently he was again informed that the list was nearly completed, but that a chance remained for him to subscribe, when he again declined, and to this day has not subscribed for or received any share of stock or bond of the company.

This dispatch was widely copied in the newspapers at the time, and was the only statement I made or authorized. One thing in connection with the case I withheld from the public. When I saw the letters of Oakes Ames to Mr. McComb, I was convinced, from what Judge Black had told me in 1869, that they were genuine, and that Ames had pretended to McComb that he had sold the *Crédit Mobilier* stock for the purpose of securing the influence of members of Congress in any legislation that might arise touching his interests. I might have published the fact that I had heard this, and now believed Ames had so represented it; though at the time Judge Black gave me the information I thought quite likely he was mistaken. I did not know to what extent any other member of Congress had had negotiations with Mr. Ames; but knowing the members whose names were published in connection with the charges, and believing them to be men of the highest integrity, I did not think it just either to them or to the party with which we acted, to express my opinion of the genuineness of Ames's letters at a time when a false construction would doubtless have been placed upon it.

Here I might rest the case, but for some of the testimony given by Mr. Ames in reference to myself. I shall consider it carefully, and shall make quotations of his language, or refer to it by pages as printed in the report, so that the correctness of my citations may, in every case, be verified

POINTS OF AGREEMENT AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MR. AMES AND MYSELF.

To bring the discussion into as narrow a compass as possible, the points of agreement and difference between Mr. Ames and myself may thus be stated :

We agree that, soon after the beginning of the session of 1867-'68, Mr. Ames offered to sell me ten shares of the *Crédit Mobilier* stock, at par and the accrued interest; that I never paid him any money on that offer; that I never received a certificate of stock; that after the month of June, 1868, I never received, demanded, or was offered any dividend, in any form, on that stock. We also agree that I once received from Mr. Ames a small sum of money. On the following points we disagree: He claims that I agreed to take the stock. I deny it. He claims that I received from him \$329, and no more, as a balance of dividends on the stock. This I deny; and assert that I borrowed from him \$300, and no more, and afterwards returned it; and that I never received anything from him on account of the stock.

In discussing the testimony relating to myself, it becomes necessary, for a full exhibition of the argument, to refer to that concerning others.

MR. AMES'S FIRST TESTIMONY.

It has been said that in Mr. Ames's first testimony, he withheld or concealed the facts generally; and hence, that what he said at that time concerning any one person is of but little consequence. The weight and value of his first testimony concerning any one person can be ascertained only by comparing it with his testimony given at the same examination concerning others.

In that first examination of December 17, as recorded on pp. 15-58, Mr. Ames mentions by name (pp. 19-21) sixteen members of Congress who were said to have had dealings with him in reference to *Crédit Mobilier* stock. Eleven of these, he says in that testimony, bought the stock; but he there sets me down among the five who did not buy it. He says (p. 21), "He [Garfield] did not pay for it or receive it."

He was, at the same time, cross-examined in regard to the dividends he paid to different persons; and he testified (pp. 23-41) that he paid one or more dividends to eight different members of Congress, and that three others, being original subscribers, drew their dividends, not from him, but directly from the company. To several of the eight he says he paid all the dividends that accrued.

But in the same cross-examination he testified that he did not remember to have paid me any dividends, nor that he had let me have any money. The following is the whole of his testimony concerning me, on cross-examination:

Q. In reference to Mr. Garfield, you say that you agreed to get ten shares for him and to hold them till he could pay for them, and that he never did pay for them nor receive them? A. Yes, sir.

Q. He never paid any money on that stock nor received any money from it? A. Not on account of it.

Q. He received no dividends? A. No, sir; I think not. He says he did not. My own recollection is not very clear.

Q. So that, as you understand, Mr. Garfield never parted with any money, nor received any money on that transaction? A. No, sir; he had some money from me once, some three or four hundred dollars, and called it a loan. He says that is all he ever received from me, and that he considered it a loan. He never took his stock, and never paid for it.

Q. Did you understand it so? A. Yes; I am willing to so understand it. I do not recollect paying him any dividend, and have forgotten that I paid him any money.—(P. 28).

* * * * *

Q. Who received the dividends? A. Mr. Patterson, Mr. Bingham, James F. Wilson did, and I think Mr. Colfax received a part of them. I do not know whether he received them all or not. I think Mr. Scofield received a part of them. Messrs. Kelley and Garfield never paid for their stock, and never received their dividends.—(P. 40).

Certainly, it cannot be said that Mr. Ames has evinced any partiality for me; and if he was attempting to shield any of those concerned, it will not be claimed that I was one of his favorites.

In his first testimony, he claims to have spoken from memory, and without the aid of his documents. But he did then distinctly testify that he sold the stock to eleven members, and paid dividends to eight of them. He not only did not put me in either of those lists, but distinctly testified that I never took the stock nor received the dividends arising from it.

MR. AMES'S SUBSEQUENT TESTIMONY.

His second testimony was given on the 22d January, five weeks after his first. In assigning to this and all his subsequent testimony its just weight, it ought to be said that before he gave it, an event occurred which made it strongly for his interest to prove a sale of the stock which he held as trustee. Besides the fact that McComb had already an equity suit pending in Philadelphia, to compel Mr. Ames to account to *him* for this same stock, another suit was threatened, after he had given his first testimony, to make him account to the company for all the stock he had not sold as trustee. His first testimony was given on the 17th December, and was made public on the 6th of January. On the 15th of January, T. C. Durant, one of the heaviest stockholders of the Crédit Mobilier Company, and for a long time its president, was examined as a witness, and said, (p. 173): "The stock that stands in the name of Mr. Ames, as trustee, I claim belongs to the company yet; and I have a summons in suit in my pocket waiting to catch him in New York to serve the papers." Of course, if as a trustee he had made sale of any portion of this stock, and afterward as an individual had bought it back, he could not be compelled to return it to the company.

Nowhere in Mr. Ames's subsequent testimony does he claim to *remember* the transaction between himself and me any differently from what he first stated it to be. But from the memoranda found or made after his first examination, he *infers* and declares that there was a sale

of the stock to me, and a payment to me of \$329 on account of dividends.

Here, again, his testimony concerning me should be compared with his testimony given at the same time concerning others.

The memoranda out of which his additional testimony grew, consisting of certificates of stock, receipts, checks on the Sergeant-at-Arms, and entries in his diary. I will consider these in the order stated.

To two members of Congress he delivered certificates of *Crédit Mobilier* stock, which as trustee he had sold to them (see pp. 267 and 290); and in a third case he delivered a certificate of stock to the person to whom a member had sold it. But Mr. Ames testified that he never gave me a certificate of stock; that I never demanded one; and that no certificate was ever spoken of between us. (See pp. 295, 296.)

In the case of five members, he gave to them, or received from them, regular receipts of payment on account of stock and dividends. (See pp. 21, 113, 191, 204, 337, 456, and 458.) But nowhere is it claimed or pretended that any receipt was ever given by me, or to me, on account of this stock, or on account of any dividends arising from it.

Again, to five of the members, Mr. Ames gave checks on the Sergeant-at-Arms, payable to them by name; and these checks were produced in evidence. (See pp. 333, 334, and 449.) In the case of three others, he produced checks bearing on their face the initials of the persons to whom he claimed they were paid. But he nowhere pretended to have or ever to have had any check

bearing either my name or my initials, or any mark or indorsement connecting it with me.

In regard to dividends claimed in his subsequent testimony to have been paid to different members, in two cases he says he paid all the dividends that accrued on the stock from December, 1867, to May 6, 1871. (See pp. 191 and 337.) In a third case, all the accretions of the stock were received by the person to whom he sold it, as the result of a resale. (See p. 217.) In a fourth case he claims to have paid money on the 22d September, 1868, on account of dividends (see p. 461); and in a fifth case he claims to have paid a dividend in full, January 22, 1869. (See p. 454.) One purchaser sold his ten shares in the winter of 1868-'69, and received thereon a net profit of at least \$3,000. Yet Mr. Ames repeatedly swears that he never paid me but \$329; that after June, 1868, he never tendered to me nor did I ever demand from him any dividend; and that there was never any conversation between us relating to dividends. (See pp. 40, 296, and 356.)

As an example of his testimony on this point, I quote from page 296. After Mr. Ames had stated that he remembered no conversation between us in regard to the adjustment of these accounts, the committee asked :

Q. Was this the only dealing you had with him in reference to any stock? A. I think so.

Q. Was it the only transaction of any kind? A. The only transaction.

Q. Has that \$329 ever been paid to you? A. I have no recollection of it.

Q. Have you any belief that it ever has? A. No, sir.

Q. Did you ever loan General Garfield \$300 ? A. Not to my knowledge : except that he calls this a loan.

Q. There were dividends of Union Pacific Railroad stock on these ten shares ? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did General Garfield ever receive these ? A. No, sir. He never has received but \$329. . . .

Q. Has there been any conversation between you and him in reference to the Pacific stock he was entitled to ? A. No, sir.

Q. Has he ever called for it ? A. No, sir.

Q. Have you ever offered it to him ? A. No, sir.

Q. Has there been any conversation in relation to it ? A. No, sir.

The assertion that he withheld the payment of dividends because of the McComb suit brought in November, 1868, is wholly broken down by the fact that he did pay the dividend to several persons during a period of two years after the suit was commenced.

The only other memoranda offered as evidence are the entries in Mr. Ames's diary for 1868. That book contains a separate statement of an account with eleven members of Congress, showing the number of shares of stock sold or intended to be sold to each, with the interest and dividends thereon. (See pp. 450 to 461.) Across the face of nine of these accounts, long lines are drawn, crossing each other, showing, as Mr. Ames says, that in each such case the account was adjusted and closed. Three of these entries of accounts are not thus crossed off (see pp. 451, 458, and 459,) and the three members referred to therein testify that they never bought the stock. The account entered under my name is one of three that are not crossed off. Here is the entry in full. (See p. 459 :)

GARFIELD.

10 shares Crédit M.....	\$1,000 00
7 mos, 10 days.....	43 36
	<hr/>
80 per ct. bd. div., at 97.....	1,043 36
	776 00
	<hr/>
	267 36
Int't to June 20.....	3 64
	<hr/>
	271 00
	<hr/> <hr/>
1,000 C. M.	
1,000 U. P.	

This entry is a mere undated memorandum, and indicates neither payment, settlement, or sale. In reference to it, the following testimony was given by Mr. Ames on cross-examination (see p. 460) :

Q. This statement of Mr. Garfield's account is not crossed off, which indicates, does it, that the matter has never been settled or adjusted ? A. No, sir ; it never has.

Q. Can you state whether you have any other entry in relation to Mr. Garfield ? A. No, sir.

Comparing Mr. Ames's testimony in reference to me, with that in reference to others, it appears that when he testified from his memory alone, he distinctly and affirmatively excepted me from the list of those who bought the stock or received the dividends ; and that subsequently, *in every case save my own*, he produced some one or more of the following documents as evidence, viz., certificates of stock ; receipts of money or dividends ; checks bearing either the full names or the initials of the persons to whom they purported to have been paid ; or entries, in his diary, of accounts marked

“adjusted and closed.” But no one of the classes of memoranda here described was produced in reference to me; nor was it pretended that any one such, referring to me ever existed.

In this review, I neither assert nor intimate that sales of stock are proved in the other cases referred to. In several cases such proof was not made. But I do assert that none of the evidences mentioned above exist in reference to me.

MR. AMES'S MEMORANDA.

Having thus stated the difference between the testimony relating to other persons, and that relating to me, I now notice the testimony on which it is attempted to reach the conclusion that I did agree to take the stock, and did receive \$329 on account of it.

On the 22d of January, Mr. Ames presented to the committee a statement of an alleged account with me, which I quote from page 397 :

J. A. G.		Dr.
1868.	To 10 shares stock Crédit Mobilier of A.	\$1,000 00
	Interest	47 00
June 19.	To cash.....	329 00
		<u>\$1,376 00</u>
		Cr.
1868.	By dividend bonds, Union Pacific Railroad, \$1,000, at 80 per cent, less 3 per cent .	\$776 00
June 17.	By dividend collected for your account.	600 00
		<u>1,376 00</u>

This account, and other similar ones presented at the same time, concerning other members, he claimed to have copied from his memorandum-book. But when the memorandum-book was subsequently presented, it was found that the account here quoted was not copied from it, but was made up partly from memory and partly from such memoranda as Mr. Ames had discovered after his first examination.

By comparing this account with the entry made in his diary, and already quoted, it will be seen that they are not duplicates, either in substance or form; and that in this account a new element is added, namely, an alleged payment of \$329 in cash on June 19. This is the very element in dispute.

THE CHECK ON THE SERGEANT-AT-ARMS.

The pretended proof that this sum was paid me is found in the production of a check drawn by Mr. Ames on the Sergeant-at-Arms. The following is the language of the check, as reported on page 353 of the testimony :

June 22, 1868.

Pay O. A. or bearer three hundred and twenty-nine dollars, and charge to my account.

OAKES AMES.

This check bears no indorsement or other mark, than the words and figures given above. It was drawn on the 22d day of June, and, as shown by the books of the Sergeant-at-Arms, was paid the same day by the paying-teller. But if this check was paid to me on the account just quoted, *it must have been delivered to me three*

days before it was drawn; for the account says that I received the payment on the 19th of June.

There is nothing but the testimony of Mr. Ames that in any way connects this check with me. And, as the committee find that the check was paid to me, I call special attention to all the testimony that bears upon the question.

When Mr. Ames testified that he paid me \$329 as a dividend on account of the stock the following question was asked him (p. 295) :

Q. How was that paid? A. Paid in money, I believe.

At a later period in the examination (p. 297) :

Q. You say that \$329 was paid to him. How was that paid?

A. I presume by a check on the Sergeant-at-Arms. I find there checks filed, without indicating who they were for.

One week later, the check referred to above was produced, and the following examination was had (p. 353) :

Q. This check seems to have been paid to somebody, and taken up by the Sergeant-at-Arms. Those initials are your own?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know who had the benefit of this check? A. I cannot tell you.

Q. Do you think you received the money on it yourself? A. I have no idea. I may have drawn the money and handed it to another person. It was paid in that transaction. It may have been paid to Mr. Garfield. There were several sums of that amount.

Q. Have you any memory in reference to this check? A. I have no memory as to that particular check.

Still later in the examination occurs the following (p. 354) :

Q. In regard to Mr. Garfield, do you know whether you gave him a check, or paid him the money? A. I think I did not pay him the money. He got it from the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Still later, in the same examination, occurs the following (p. 355) :

Q. You think the check on which you wrote nothing to indicate the payee must have been Mr. Garfield's? A. Yes, sir. That is my judgment.

On the 11th of February, twelve days later still, the subject came up again, and Mr. Ames said (p. 471) :

A. I am not sure how I paid Mr. Garfield.

Still later, in a cross-examination in reference to Mr. Colfax, the following occurs (p 471) :

Q. In testifying in Mr. Garfield's case, you say you may have drawn the money on the check and paid him. Is not your answer equally applicable in the case of Mr. Colfax? A. No, sir.

Q. Why not? A. I put Mr. Colfax's initials on the check, while I put no initials on Mr. Garfield's, and I may have drawn the money myself.

Q. Did not Mr. Garfield's check belong to him? A. Mr. Garfield had not paid for his stock. He was entitled to \$329 balance. But Mr. Colfax paid for his, and I had no business with his \$1,200.

Q. Is your recollection in regard to this payment to Mr. Colfax any more clear than your recollection as to the payment to Mr. Garfield? A. Yes, sir; I think it is.

And finally, in the examination of Mr. Dillon, cashier of the Sergeant-at-Arms, the following is recorded (p. 479) :

Q. There is a check payable to Oakes Ames or bearer. Have you any recollection of that? A. That was paid to himself. I have no doubt myself that I paid that to Mr. Ames.

Reviewing the testimony on this point (and I have quoted it all), it will be seen that Mr. Ames several times asserts that he does not know whether he paid me the check or not. He states positively that he has no special recollection of the check. His testimony is wholly inferential. In one of the seven paragraphs quoted, he says he paid me the money; in another he says he may have paid me the money; in three of them he thinks, or presumes, that he paid me the check; and in the other two he says he does not know.

The cashier of the Sergeant-at-Arms has no doubt that Mr. Ames himself drew the money on the check. And yet, upon this vague and wholly inconclusive testimony, and almost alone upon it, is based the assumption that I received from Mr. Ames \$329, as a dividend on the stock. I affirm, with perfect distinction of recollection, that I received no check from Mr. Ames. The only money I ever received from him was in currency.

The only other evidence in support of the assumption that he paid me \$329, as a balance on the stock, is found in the entries in his diary for 1868. The value of this class of memoranda depends altogether upon their character and upon the business habits of the man who makes them. On this latter point the following testimony of Mr. Ames, on page 34, is important:

Q. Is it your habit, as a matter of business, in conducting various transactions with different persons, to do it without making any memoranda? A. This was my habit. Until within a year or two I have had no bookkeeper, and I used to keep all my own matters in my own way, and very carelessly, I admit.

The memorandum-book in which these entries were

made was not presented to the committee until the 11th of February, one week before they made their report. This book does not contain continuous entries of current transactions, with consecutive dates. It is in no sense a day-book, but contains a loose, irregular mass of memoranda, which may have been made at the time of the transactions, or long afterward. Mr. Ames says of it in his testimony (p. 281):

Q. What was the character of the book in which the memoranda were made? A. It was in a small pocket memorandum, and some of it on slips of paper.

It is not pretended that this book contains a complete record of payments and receipts. And yet, besides the check already referred to, this book, so made up, contains the only evidence, or pretended evidence, on which it is claimed that I agreed to take the stock. It should be remembered that every portion of this evidence, both check and book, is of Mr. Ames's own making. I have already referred to the undated memorandum of an account in this book, under my name, and have shown that it neither proved a sale of stock, or any payment on account of it.

There are but two other entries in the book relating to me, and they are two lists of names, substantially duplicates of each other, with various amounts set opposite each. They are found on pages 450 and 453 of the testimony. The word "paid" is marked before the first name on one of these lists, and ditto marks placed under the word "paid" and opposite the remaining names. But the value of this entry as proof of payment will be

seen from the cross-examination of Mr. Ames, which immediately follows the list (p. 453):

Q. This entry, "Paid S. Colfax \$1,200," is the amount which you paid by this check on the Sergeant-at-Arms? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was this entry upon this page of these various names intended to show the amount you were to pay, or that you had paid; was that made at this date? A. I do not know; it was made about that time. I would not have written it on Sunday; it is not very likely. It was made on a blank page. It is simply a list of names.

Q. Were these names put down after you had made the payments, or before, do you think? A. Before, I think.

Q. You think you made this list before the parties referred to had actually received their checks, or received the money? A. Yes, sir; that was to show whom I had to pay, and who were entitled to receive the 60 per cent. dividend. It shows whom I had to pay here in Washington.

Q. It says "paid?" A. Yes, sir; well, I did pay it.

Q. What I want to know is, whether the list was made out before or after payment? A. About the same time, I suppose; probably before.

The other list, bearing the same names and amounts, shows no other evidence that the several sums were paid than a cross marked opposite each amount. But concerning this, Mr. Ames testifies that it was a list of what was to be paid, and that the cross was subsequently added to show that the amount had been paid.

Neither of these lists shows anything as to the time or mode of payment, and would nowhere be accepted as proof of payment. By Mr. Ames's own showing, they are lists of persons to whom he *expected* to pay the amounts set opposite their names. They may exhibit his expectations, but they do not prove the alleged payments. If

the exact sum of \$329 was received by me at the time and under the circumstances alleged by Mr. Ames, it implies an agreement to take the stock. It implies, furthermore, that Mr. Ames had sold Pacific Railroad bonds for me; that he had received also a cash dividend for me, and had accounted to me as trustee for these receipts, and the balance of the proceeds.

Now, I affirm, with the firmest conviction of the correctness of my statement, that I never heard until this investigation began, that Mr. Ames ever sold any bonds, or performed any other stock transactions on my behalf; and no act of mine was ever based on such a supposition.

INTERVIEWS WITH MR. AMES DURING THE INVESTIGATION.

The only remaining testimony bearing upon me, is that in which Mr. Ames refers to conversations between himself and me, after the investigation began. The first of these was of his own seeking, and occurred before he or I had testified. Soon after the investigation began, Mr. Ames asked me what I remembered of our talk in 1867-'68 in reference to the *Crédit Mobilier* Company. I told him I could best answer his question by reading to him the statement I had already prepared to lay before the committee when I should be called. Accordingly, on the following day, I took my written statement to the Capitol, and read it to him carefully, sentence by sentence, and asked him to point out anything which he might think incorrect. He made but two criticisms; one in regard to a date, and the other, that he thought it was the

Crédit Foncier and not the Crédit Mobilier that Mr. Train asked me to subscribe to in 1866-'67. When I read the paragraph in which I stated that I had once borrowed \$300 of him, he remarked, "I believe I did let you have some money, but I had forgotten it." He said nothing to indicate that he regarded me as having purchased the stock; and from that conversation I did not doubt that he regarded my statement substantially correct. His first testimony, given a few days afterward, confirmed me in this opinion.

I had another interview with Mr. Ames, of my own seeking, to which he alludes on pages 357 and 359; and for a full understanding of it, a statement of some previous facts is necessary. I gave my testimony before the committee, and in Mr. Ames's hearing, on the morning of January 14. It consisted of the statement I had already read to Mr. Ames, and of the cross-examination which followed my reading of the statement, all of which has been quoted above.

During that afternoon, while I was engaged in the management of an appropriation bill in the House, word was brought to me that Mr. Ames, on coming out of the committee-room, had declared in the hearing of several reporters that "Garfield was in league with Judge Black to break him down; that it was \$400, not \$300, that he had let Garfield have, who had not only never repaid it, but had refused to repay it." Though this report of Mr. Ames's alleged declaration was subsequently found to be false, and was doubtless fabricated for the purpose of creating difficulty, yet there were circumstances which, at the time, led me to suppose that the report was correct.

One was that Judge Black (who was McComb's counsel in the suit against Ames) was present at my examination, and had drawn out on cross-examination my opinion of the nature of Mr. Ames's relation to the *Crédit Mobilier* Company and the Union Pacific Company; and the other was, that in Mr. Ames's testimony of December 17, he had said (p. 28), "He [Mr. Garfield] had some money from me once, some three or four hundred dollars, and called it a loan." The sum of four hundred dollars had thus been mentioned in his testimony, and it gave plausibility to the story that he was now claiming that as the amount he had loaned me.

Supposing that Mr. Ames had said what was reported, I was deeply indignant; and, with a view of drawing from him a denial or retraction of the statement, or, if he persisted in it, to pay him twice over, so that he could no longer say or pretend that there existed between us any unsettled transaction, I drew some money from the office of Sergeant-at-Arms, and, going to my committee-room, addressed him the following note:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

January 14, 1873.

SIR:—I have just been informed, to my utter amazement, that after coming out of the committee-room this morning, you said, in the presence of several reporters, that you had loaned me four instead of three hundred dollars, and that I had not only refused to pay you, but was aiding your accusers to injure you in the investigation. I shall call the attention of the committee to it, unless I find I am misinformed. To bring the loan question to an immediate issue between us, I inclose herewith \$400. If you wish to do justice to the truth and to me, you will return it and correct the alleged statement if you made it. If not, you will keep

the money and thus be paid twice and more. Silence on your part will be a confession that you have deeply wronged me.

J. A. GARFIELD.

Hon. OAKES AMES.

After the House had adjourned for the day, I found, on returning to my committee-room, that I had omitted to inclose the note with the money, which had been sent to the House post-office. I immediately sought Mr. Ames to deliver the note, but failed to find him at his hotel or elsewhere that evening. Early the next morning, January 15, I found him, and delivered the note. He denied having said or claimed any of the things therein set forth, and wrote on the back of my letter the following :

WASHINGTON, January 15, 1873.

DEAR SIR :—I return you your letter with inclosures, and I utterly deny ever having said that you refused to pay me, or that it was four instead of three hundred dollars, or that you was aiding my accusers. I also wish to say that there has never been any but the most friendly feelings between us, and no transaction in the least degree that can be censured by any fair-minded person. I herewith return you the four hundred dollars as not belonging to me.

Yours, truly,

OAKES AMES.

Hon. J. A. GARFIELD.

From inquiry of the reporters to whom the remarks were alleged to have been made, I had become satisfied that the story was wholly false, and when Mr. Ames added his denial, I expressed to him my regret that I had written this note in anger and upon false information. I furthermore said to Mr. Ames that, if he had any doubt in reference to the repayment of the loan, I wished him to keep the money. He refused to keep any part of it,

and his conversation indicated that he regarded all transactions between us settled.

Before I left his room, however, he said he had some memoranda which seemed to indicate that the money I had of him was on account of stock ; and asked me if he did not, some time in 1868, deliver to me a statement to that effect. I told him if he had any account of that sort, I was neither aware of it, nor responsible for it ; and thereupon I made substantially the following statement :

Mr. Ames, the only memorandum you ever showed me was in 1867-'68, when speaking to me of this proposed sale of stock, you figured out on a little piece of paper, what you supposed would be realized from an investment of \$1,000 ; and, as I remember, you wrote down these figures :

$$\begin{array}{r} 1,000 \\ 1,000 \\ \hline 400 \\ \hline 2,400 \end{array}$$

as the amounts you expected to realize.

While saying this to Mr. Ames, I wrote the figures as above, on a piece of paper lying on his table, to show him what the only statement was he had made to me. It is totally false that these figures had any other meaning than that I have here given ; nor did I say anything out of which could be fabricated such a statement as appears on pages 358, 359.

In his testimony of January 29, Mr. Ames gives a most remarkable account of this interview. Remembering the fact, by him undisputed, that there had been no communication between us on this subject for more than four years before this investigation began, notice the following (p. 358) :

Q. Did you have any conversation in reference to the influence this transaction would have on the election last fall? A. Yes, he said it would be very injurious to him.

Q. What else in reference to that? A. I am a very bad man to repeat conversations; I cannot remember.

That is, he makes me, on the 15th of January, 1873, express the fear that this transaction will injure me in the election of October, 1872!

Again, pages 357, 358:

Q. You may state whether in conversation with you, Mr. Garfield claims, as he claims before us, that the only transaction between you was borrowing \$300. A. No, sir, he did not claim that with me.

Q. State how he did claim it with you; what was said? A. I cannot remember half of it. . . . He [Mr. Garfield] stated that when he came back from Europe, being in want of funds, he called on me to loan him a sum of money. He thought he had repaid it. I do not know; I do not remember. . . .

Q. How long after that transaction [the offer to sell *Crédit Mobilier* stock] did he go to Europe? A. I believe it was a year or two. . . .

Q. Do you not know that he did not go to Europe for nearly two years afterward? A. No, I do not. It is my impression it was two years afterward, but I cannot remember dates.

I should think not, if this testimony is an example of his memory!

It is known to thousands of people that I went to Europe in the summer of 1867, and at no other time. I sailed from New York on the 13th of July, 1867, spent several days of August in Scotland, with Speaker Blaine and Senator Morrill, of Vermont, and returned to New York on the 9th of the following November—three weeks before the beginning of the session of Congress.

The books of the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House show that, before going, I had assigned several months' pay in advance to a banker, who had advanced me money for the expenses of the trip. To break the weight of this fact, which showed why I came to need a small loan, Mr. Ames says I did not go to Europe till nearly two years afterward.

If a reason be sought why he gave such testimony it may perhaps be found on the same page from which the last quotation is made (page 359) :

Q. How did you happen to retain that little stray memorandum? A. I do not know. I found it in my table two or three days afterward. I did not pay any attention to it at the time, until I found there was to be a conflict of testimony, and I thought that might be something worth preserving.

How did he find out after that time that "there was to be a conflict of testimony?" The figures were made on that piece of paper January 15, the day after I had given my testimony, and four weeks after he had given his first testimony. There was no conflict except what he himself made; and that conflict was as marked between his first statement and his subsequent ones, as between the latter and mine.

There runs through all this testimony now under consideration an intimation that I was in a state of alarm, was beseeching Mr. Ames "to let me off easily," "to say as little about it as possible," "to let it go as a loan," "to save my reputation," that I "felt very bad," was "in great distress," "hardly knew what I said," and other such expressions.

I should have been wholly devoid of sensibility if I

had not felt keenly the suspicions, the false accusations, the reckless calumnies with which the public mind was filled, while the investigation was in progress. But there is not the smallest fragment of truth in the statement, or rather the insinuation, that I ever asked or wanted anything from Mr. Ames on this subject but simple justice and the truth.

The spirit in which a portion of the public treated the men whose conduct was being investigated, may be understood from the following question, put to Mr. Ames (page 361) in the midst of an examination, not at all relating to me :

Q. In that conversation with Mr. Garfield, was anything said by him about your being an old man, near the end of your career, and his being comparatively a young man ? A. No, sir ; nothing of that sort.

It is manifest that this question was suggested by some of the inventive bystanders, in hopes of making an item for a new sensation.

The most absurd and exaggerated statements were constantly finding their way into the public press, in reference to every subject and person connected with the investigation, and this question is an illustration.

In no communication with Mr. Ames did I ever say anything inconsistent with my testimony before the committee.

Conscious that I had done no wrong from the beginning to the end of this affair, I had nothing to conceal and no favors to ask, except that the whole truth should be known. I was in the committee-room but once during

the investigation, and I went there then only when summoned to give my testimony.

CONCLUSIONS.

From a review of the whole subject, the following conclusions are fairly and clearly established:—

I. That the *Crédit Mobilier Company* was a State corporation regularly organized; and that neither its charter nor the terms of the contract, of October 15, 1867, disclosed anything which indicated that the company was engaged in any fraudulent or improper enterprise.

II. That a ring of seven persons inside the *Crédit Mobilier Company*, calling themselves trustees, obtained the control of the franchises, and of a majority of the stock of both the *Crédit Mobilier* and of the *Union Pacific Railroad Company*; and while holding such double control, they made a contract with themselves by which they received for building the road an extravagant sum, greatly beyond the real cost of construction; and, in adjusting the payments, they received stock and bonds of the railroad company, at a heavy discount, and by these means virtually robbed and plundered the road, which was in great part built by the aid of the United States.

That these exorbitant profits were distributed, not to the stockholders of the *Crédit Mobilier* proper, but to the ring of seven trustees and their proxies—holders of this ring stock—and that this arrangement was kept a close secret by its managers.

III. That in 1867-'68, Mr. Ames offered to sell small amounts of this stock to several leading members of Con-

gress, representing it as an ordinary investment promising fair profits; but in every such offer he concealed from such members the real nature of the arrangement by which the profits were to be made, as well as the amount of dividends likely to be realized. While thus offering this stock, he was writing to one of his ring associates that he was disposing of the stock "where it would do most good," intimating that he was thereby gaining influence in Congress, to prevent investigation into the affairs of the road. His letters and the list of names which he gave to McComb represent many persons as having bought the stock who never did buy or agree to buy it, and also represent a much larger amount sold than he did actually sell. Mr. Ames's letters and testimony abound in contradictions, not only of his own statements, but also of the statements of most of the other witnesses; and it is fair, in judging of its credibility, to take into account his interests involved in the controversy.

IV. That in reference to myself the following points are clearly established by the evidence :

1. That I neither purchased nor agreed to purchase the *Crédit Mobilier* stock which Mr. Ames offered to sell me; nor did I receive any dividend arising from it. This appears from my own testimony; and from the first testimony given by Mr. Ames, which is not overthrown by his subsequent statements; and is strongly confirmed by the fact that in the case of each of those who did purchase the stock, there was produced as evidence of the sale, either a certificate of stock, receipt of payment, a check drawn in the name of the payee, or entries in Mr.

Ames's diary of a stock account marked "adjusted and closed;" but that no one of these evidences exists in reference to me. This position is further confirmed by the subsequent testimony of Mr. Ames, who, though he claims that I did receive \$329 from him on account of stock, yet he repeatedly testifies that beyond that amount I never received or demanded any dividend, that he did not offer me any, nor was the subject alluded to in conversation between us.

Mr. Ames admits, on page 40 of the testimony, that after December, 1867, the various stock and bond dividends, on the stock he had sold, amounted to an aggregate of more than 800 per cent.; and that between January, 1868, and May, 1871, all these dividends were paid to several of those who purchased the stock. My conduct was wholly inconsistent with the supposition of such ownership; for, during the year 1869, I was borrowing money to build a house here in Washington, and was securing my creditors by giving mortgages on my property; and all this time it is admitted that I received no dividends and claimed none.

The attempt to prove a sale of the stock to me is wholly inconclusive; for it rests, first, on a check payable to Mr. Ames himself, concerning which he several times says he does not know to whom it was paid; and second, upon loose undated entries in his diary, which neither prove a sale of the stock nor any payment on account of it.

The only fact from which it is possible for Mr. Ames to have inferred an agreement to buy the stock was the loan to me of \$300. But that loan was made months be-

fore the check of June 22, 1868, and was repaid in the winter of 1869; and after that date there were no transactions of any sort between us.

And finally, before the investigation was ended, Mr. Ames admitted that on the chief point of difference between us he might be mistaken.

On page 356 he said he "considered me the purchaser of the stock, unless it was borrowed money I had of him;" and on page 461, at the conclusion of his last testimony, he said:

Mr. Garfield understands this matter as a loan; he says I did not explain it to him.

Q. You need not say what Mr. Garfield says. Tell us what you think.

A. Mr. Garfield might have misunderstood me. . . . I supposed it was like all the rest, but when Mr. Garfield says he mistook it for a loan; that he always understood it to be a loan; that I did not make any explanation to him, and did not make any statement to him; I may be mistaken. I am a man of few words, and I may not have made myself understood to him.

2. That the offer which Mr. Ames made to me, as I understood it, was one which involved no wrong or impropriety. I had no means of knowing and had no reason for supposing that behind this offer to sell me a small amount of stock, lay hidden a scheme to defraud the Pacific Railroad and imperil the interests of the United States. I was not invited to become a party to any scheme of spoliation, much less was I aware of any attempt to influence my legislative action, on any subject connected therewith. And on the first intimation of the real nature of the case, I declined any further consideration of the subject.

3. That whatever may have been the facts in the case, I stated them in my testimony as I have always understood them; and there has been no contradiction, prevarication, or evasion on my part.

This is demonstrated by the fact that I stated the case to Mr. Robison, in the spring of 1868, and to Mr. Hinsdale in the autumn of that year, and to Judge Black in the winter of 1869-'70, substantially as it is stated in my testimony before the committee.

I have shown that during the Presidential campaign I did not deny having known anything about the *Crédit Mobilier Company*; that the statement published in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, September 15, is substantially in accord with my testimony before the committee; and finally that during the progress of the investigation there was nothing in my conversation or correspondence with Mr. Ames in any way inconsistent with the facts as given in my testimony. To sum it up in a word: out of an unimportant business transaction, the loan of a trifling sum of money, as a matter of personal accommodation, and out of an offer never accepted, has arisen this enormous fabric of accusation and suspicion.

If there be a citizen of the United States who is willing to believe that for \$329 I have bartered away my good name, and to falsehood have added perjury, these pages are not addressed to him. If there be one who thinks that any part of my public life has been gauged on so low a level as these charges would place it, I do not address him. I address those who are willing to believe that it is possible for a man to serve the public without personal dishonor. I have endeavored in this review, to

point out the means by which the managers of a corporation, wearing the garb of honorable industry, have robbed and defrauded a great national enterprise, and attempted, by cunning and deception, for selfish ends, to enlist in its interest those who would have been the first to crush the attempt had their objects been known.

If any of the scheming corporations or corrupt rings that have done so much to disgrace the country by their attempts to control its legislation, have ever found in me a conscious supporter or ally in any dishonorable scheme, they are at full liberty to disclose it. In the discussion of the many grave and difficult questions of public policy which have occupied the thoughts of the nation during the last twelve years, I have borne some part; and I confidently appeal to the public records for a vindication of my conduct.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

If anything were needed to add weight to the above masterly defence it would be found in the following letter from Judge Poland, of Vermont, to ex-Governor Ryland Fletcher, of the same State. Judge Poland, it will be remembered, was the chairman of the *Crédit Mobilier Investigating Committee* :

“ST. JOHNSBURY, VT., July 2, 1880.

“I have mislaid or lost my copy of the evidence taken by the *Crédit Mobilier Investigating Committee* and their report, and although I have a very clear recollection of the general features of the whole matter, I should not attempt to say anything in regard to details without a re-perusal of the volume. But if I had it

before me, it does not seem to me that there is occasion or need that I should review it for the purpose of replying to such attacks on General Garfield as you have copied from the *New York Express*, or similar ones which may be found in many other Democratic papers. The transactions of Mr. Ames in *Crédit Mobilier* stock were more than a dozen years ago; the full investigation of the matter by the committee of which I was chairman was over eight years ago. At the time of the investigation the public mind was greatly excited on the subject, and it involved the character and reputation of so many prominent men that probably no mere personal matter ever was so thoroughly canvassed and discussed by the reading and intelligent people of the country. After the most exhaustive discussion and reflection, the judgment of the people of this country was made up as to each man who was named as connected with it. Saying nothing in regard to any other man, I think I may most truthfully say that this public and popular judgment fully and absolutely acquitted General Garfield of all wrong, either in act or intent, in relation to the matter. No man could have been continued in public life, and constantly risen in public standing and in the public estimation, by the consent and approval of the best men of both parties, as General Garfield has, if there existed a suspicion of wrong-doing against him. I regard this popular and continued verdict of the people as conclusive. Every effort to reopen and unsettle it will, in my judgment, only recoil upon those who attempt it. In my judgment, the Republican press and Republican speakers who may spend their time in re-

arguing a matter so many years ago passed into final judgment will only waste their breath. The great issues between the parties, which so largely affect the welfare of the people and the country, are the topics to be discussed and decided in the coming campaign. These are what the people desire to be enlightened upon; they are already satisfied that the \$329 case was finally and properly decided many years ago. I presume you have seen a short note I sent to the State Convention. In that I said all I wished to say.

“LUKE P. POLAND.”

Another charge brought against General Garfield was that in 1872 he received a fee of five thousand dollars for securing an appropriation in favor of a certain contract for paving certain streets of Washington City. This contract was in favor of what is known as the De Golyer pavement. At this time General Garfield was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and it was charged that he was paid this sum to secure his influence for the De Golyer Company. The truth was that the fee was paid him for services rendered as a lawyer, after the adjournment of Congress, and had no connection whatever with the appropriation granted by Congress. Grave charges having been brought against the De Golyer company, the House of Representatives appointed a committee to investigate the matter. Before this committee General Garfield appeared in February, 1879, and made the following statement which explains his true connection with the matter, and places the facts in the case so fairly and plainly before the public that the most

inveterate enemy must, if honest, acknowledge the success of his vindication, and acquit him of either intentional or actual wrong-doing.

“ Mr. Garfield.—Mr. Chairman, I never saw this contract before, but I want to say a word in regard to the word ‘appropriation’ used in it. It has no more reference to Congress than it has to Great Britain. The Board of Public Works, under the general law and the legislation of the District government, made the appropriations themselves, and taxed the people of the District along the streets where these improvements were made, by the front foot; and I in common with other property-holders of the District, paid my assessment levied by the Board of Public Works for the improvements made in front of my property; and the appropriation here referred to is the appropriation by the District government, either out of the funds that it had raised by bonds issued on the credit of the District or by assessments by the District authorities upon the people whose property was improved. The only connection that the United States had with it in reference to appropriations was this:—Whenever the Board of Public Works laid a pavement on a street upon which any United States building or ground was situated, Congress, as a matter of course, as it does in every other city of the Union, paid its quota of the assessment per front foot. That is the only relation that Congress had to any of these improvements, except in so far as we have been compelled subsequently to advance money to pay the interest on their bonds, which of course was a matter that nobody could have foreseen.

“ Mr. Nickerson.—Allow me to ask you a question.

“ Mr. Garfield.—Certainly.

“ Mr. Nickerson.—In view of your explanation, I ask you to state what this provision in this award in relation to that fifty thousand square yards refers to—what appropriation that refers to, around the parks or anywhere else?

“ Mr. Garfield.—I cannot be expected to explain the language of this contract which I have never seen, but if the chairman will look at the Appropriation Bill, especially in 1873, he will find that there were three appropriations made; one (\$180,000, I think) to reimburse the old Washington corporation previous to the creation of the Board of Public Works, for work that was done around the Government reservation. The old canal had been filled up and the Smithsonian grounds had been bettered by that improvement, and there was an appropriation to reimburse the old corporation for that part of their improvements which lay opposite the public grounds of the United States; and in the same bill there was also an appropriation made to reimburse the Board of Public Works for the Government's share of the improvements made in front of the public buildings and grounds.

“ The Chairman.—Do you recollect the amount of that appropriation?

“ Mr. Garfield.—I think it was about \$180,000. I ought to say, however, that that was put on, not in the House but in the Senate. I was not on the conference; I had nothing to do with it. It was perfectly right if I had been on the committee, but I was not. That had no more to do with anybody's pavement, or with any par-

ticular contract for any particular patent or pavement, than with the man in the moon.

“Mr. Nickerson.—You haven’t answered my question. If your explanation is correct, can you say why it is that that 50,000 square yards is made absolutely contingent upon an appropriation to be made by Congress? That is a matter that would necessarily come directly before Congress.

“Mr. Garfield.—Not at all. It would come from the appropriation of the district authorities. Mr. Chairman, I never saw this contract before in my life, and I had nothing whatever to do with its terms, and therefore I am not responsible for any meaning that anybody may attribute to its language.

“Now, the whole story is plainly and briefly told. A day or two before the adjournment of the Congress which adjourned in the latter part of May or the first part of June, 1872, Richard C. Parsons, who was a practising lawyer in Cleveland, but was then the Marshal of the Supreme Court, and an old acquaintance of mine, came to my house and said that he was called away summarily by important business; that he was retained in a case on which he had spent a great deal of time, and that there was but one thing remaining to be done, to make a brief of the relative merits of a large number of wooden pavements; that the Board of Public Works had agreed that they would put down a certain amount of concrete, and a certain amount of other kinds of pavement; that they had fixed the price at which they would put down each of the different kinds, and that the only thing remaining was to determine which was the best pavement of each

of the several kinds. He said he should lose his fee unless the brief on the merits of these pavements was made, and that he was suddenly and necessarily called away home; and he asked me to prepare the brief. He brought his papers to my house and models of the pavement. I told him I could not look at the case until the end of the session. When Congress adjourned I sat down to the case, in the most open manner, as I would prepare a brief for the Supreme Court, and worked upon this matter. There were perhaps forty kinds of wood pavement and several chemical analyses of the ingredients of the different pavements. I went over the whole ground carefully and thoroughly, and prepared a brief on the relative claims of these pavements for the consideration of the board. This was all I did. I had nothing to do with the terms of the contract, I knew nothing of its conditions, and I never had a word to say about the conditions, and I never had a word to say about the price of the pavement. I knew nothing about it; I simply made a brief upon the relative merits of the various patent pavements; and it no more occurred to me that the thing I was doing had relation to a ring, or to a body of men connected with any scheme, or in any way connected with Congress, or related in any way to any of my duties in connection with the Committee on Appropriations, than it occurred to me that it was interfering with your personal rights as a citizen. I prepared the brief and went home. Mr. Parsons subsequently sent me a portion of his own fee. A year later, when the affairs of the District of Columbia came to be overhauled, Congress became satisfied that the government of the District had better

be abolished, and this whole matter was very thoroughly investigated by a committee of the two Houses. They went into the question of the merits of the pavement, some claiming that it was bad, and some claiming that the Government had paid too much for it. Mr. Chittenden was called as a witness. I ought to say here that I never saw Mr. Chittenden until about the time I made the brief; I did not and do not know De Golyer and McClelland; I would not know them on the street; I am not aware that I ever saw Mr. Nickerson before; and if anybody in this business had any scheme relating to me, it was never mentioned to me in the remotest way. It never was suggested to me that this matter could relate to my duties as a member of Congress in any way whatever. All that I did was done openly. Everybody who called on me could have seen what I was doing, and if there was any intention or purpose on the part of anybody to connect me in any way with any ring or any dishonorable scheme it was sedulously concealed from me. As I have said, three years ago a joint committee of the two Houses investigated this matter thoroughly. Mr. Parsons was summoned, and was examined, and cross-examined; Mr. Chittenden was examined; Mr. Nickerson was examined. When I heard that my name was being used in the matter, I went to the chairmen on both sides—for it was a joint committee. Senator Thurman, of my own State, was on the committee; Mr. Jewett, now President of the Erie Railway, was on the committee. I said to the chairmen that, if there was anything in connection with the case which reflected upon me, and that they thought I ought to answer, I would be obliged to

them if they would inform me. The chairman on the part of the House, Mr. Wilson, said that he had looked the matter all over, and that what I had done was perfectly proper; but if anything should occur to make any explanation necessary, I could appear before the committee; he would send me word. He never did send for me. Very soon after that my political campaign in Ohio opened.

“Every man in public life is blessed with enemies as well as friends; and no sooner had my campaign opened than the *New York Sun* published thirteen columns, I believe, containing almost every form of public and private assault upon me, among other things quoting this testimony in such a way as to make it appear that what I had done compromised my position as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. I went before the people of my district and discussed the whole matter; and in a speech which was printed and circulated by thousands, every part and parcel of this charge was made as public as anything could be. It was revived to some extent in the campaign last fall, and all possible new light thrown upon it. In the course of the campaign of 1874 a gentleman from my district wrote in regard to it to Mr. Wilson, the chairman of the joint committee on the part of the House, and received a letter in reply, which I read:—

“ ‘CONNELLSVILLE, Ind., Aug. 1, 1874.

“ ‘Hon. George W. Steele — Dear Sir:—To the request for information as to whether or not the action of General Garfield, in connection with the affairs of the District of Columbia, was the subject of condemnation in the committee that recently had those affairs under con-

sideration, I answer that it was not; nor was there, in my opinion, any evidence that would have warranted any unfavorable criticism upon his conduct.

“ ‘ The facts disclosed by the evidence, so far as he is concerned, are briefly these :

“ ‘ The Board of Public Works was considering the question as to the kind of pavements that should be laid. There was a contest as to the respective merits of various wooden pavements. Mr. Parsons represented, as attorney, the De Golyer and McClellan patent, and being called away from Washington about the time the hearing was to be had before the Board of Public Works on this subject, procured General Garfield to appear before the board in his stead and argue the merits of his patent. This he did, and this was the whole of his connection in the matter. It was not a question as to the kind of contract that should be made, but as to whether this particular kind of pavement should be laid. The criticism of the committee was not upon the *pavement* in favor of which General Garfield argued, but was upon the *contract* made with reference to it; and there was no evidence which would warrant the conclusion that he had anything to do with the latter. Very respectfully, etc.,

“ ‘ J. M. WILSON.’

“ I want to say this, further : That if anybody in the world holds that my fee in connection with this pavement, even by suggestion or implication, had any relation whatever to any appropriation by Congress for anything connected with the District, or with anything else, it is due to me, it is due to this committee, and it is due to Con-

gress, that that person be summoned. If there be a man on this earth who makes such a charge, that man is the most infamous perjurer that lives, and I shall be glad to confront him anywhere in this world. I am quite sure this committee will not allow hearsay and contradictory testimony to raise a presumption against me. Now, I will say very frankly to the committee that, if I had known or imagined that there was an intent such as this witness insinuates, on the part of anybody, that my employment by a brother lawyer to prepare a brief on a perfectly legitimate question—a question of the relative merits of certain lawful patents—had any connection whatever, or any supposed connection in the mind of any man, with my public duties, I certainly would have taken no such engagement. I would have been a weak and very foolish man to have done so, and I trust that gentlemen who know me will believe that I would at least have had too much respect for my own ambition to have done such a thing.

“By the Chairman—Q. What was the amount that Mr. Parsons did pay you of his fee? A. Five thousand dollars. I do not think he mentioned any sum at the time he asked me to make the argument. He said that he was to receive a large fee, and he would share it with me. I am not sure that he then mentioned the amount, or what he would pay me, but he said that the fee was a large one, and that there was a large amount involved. When I made the argument I went home to Ohio, and some time in the month of July, I think, or perhaps a month afterwards, Mr. Parsons deposited in bank to my credit \$5,000.

By Mr. Culbertson—Q. Who paid those fees. A. I do not know. I never knew anything about that at all. Mr. Parsons engaged me. Nobody else spoke to me about it. The only relation I had to it at all was with him. Mr. Parsons' testimony on the subject is very full, and is true, as I remember it.

“By the Chairman—Q. Did Mr. Parsons say to you that his fee or yours would be contingent on the award of a contract for 200,000 square yards of pavement? A. Oh, no, sir; I do not think he said that. He said: ‘I am in danger of losing an important fee unless I make this argument, and I cannot do it; I must go away, and I will pay you a share of what I get if you will make the brief.’ I don't remember that he said whether it was contingent or absolute. I simply acted on his request.

“Q. Your brief was made and filed? A. Certainly. I labored over the case a good many days. I remember among other papers which I examined were some pamphlets giving an account of the working of this pavement in California, and, I think, in Chicago. There were two or three chemical analyses of the materials used I had to examine; I think nearly forty of the different patents. The understanding was that the merits of the different competing pavements were to be laid before the board in order that they might determine their relative merits. I do not think I knew anything about the price that was to be paid per square yard; certainly it was none of my affair; I had nothing to do with it or to say about it.

“By Mr. Pratt—Q. It was not involved in the question submitted to you? A. It was not involved in the question at all, because, as I understood, the

Board of Engineers had beforehand determined that for wood pavements they would pay so much, for concrete so much, and for other kinds so much. The property-holders on a street made a request for whichever pavement they preferred—concrete, Belgian, or wooden—and, when the petitions of the property-holders were filed with the board, they gave the different streets the kinds of pavement asked for by the people.

“By the Chairman—Q. Had you any knowledge at the time that the Advisory Board had passed a condemnatory judgment upon this? A. I had not, nor have I now. I only knew that there was a considerable amount of wooden pavement to be laid, because the citizens had asked for it. I had no knowledge of the matter except what I had got from the papers before me. I recollect among other things, that it was certified from the Board of Public Works of Chicago that this pavement had stood there better than any other wooden pavement they had ever had, and I believe there was similar testimony from the city authorities of San Francisco.

“Q. Had you any previous knowledge as an expert in the qualities of different pavements? A. I had had considerable experience in patents and patent law generally; I had been engaged in the Goodyear rubber case in the Supreme Court, and I was familiar with patent law. I have been practising in the Supreme Court here since 1866; I do practice constantly, as much as my public duties allow.

“Q. Do you recollect whether at the subsequent session of Congress there was \$1,200,000 appropriated

for the Board of Public Works? A. I remember that there was a large appropriation made for improvements made by the Board of Public Works in front of the public buildings and grounds, but none was made for any particular pavement or contract. I do not remember how large the appropriation was, for it was put on in the Senate, in the last hours of the session, while I was on a conference on the unfortunate salary bill, and was adopted while I was out, and I knew nothing at all about its origin or progress. I know that in one of the bills that I had charge of at about that time there was a restrictive clause upon the board inserted, because we thought it had begun to do too much.

“The Chairman.—I don't think, Mr. Garfield, that it has been testified here, directly, that any proposition, in so many words, was made to you in relation to any appropriation made by Congress, but there have been put in evidence here extracts from letters, which were written by Chittenden from this city to De Golyer and McClelland, after interviews with you.

“Mr. Garfield.—Of course, Mr. Chairman, you will see the utter impossibility of one man being made responsible for what another man writes about him. I cannot, of course, say what has been written about me. If I had it all before me, it would be a very mixed chapter, I have no doubt, as it would be in the case of any of us.

“The Chairman.—There has been no direct testimony that any such proposition was ever made to you.

“Mr. Garfield.—If there is any testimony of that sort it is false, and I shall be obliged if you will let me know.”

CHAPTER X.

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.—GENERAL GARFIELD NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Chicago Convention—Description of the Hall—General Garfield a Delegate from Ohio—Cordial Reception by the Convention—Opening of the Proceedings—The First Day's Work—Events of the Second Day—The Struggle between Grant and Blaine—Parliamentary Skirmishing—Proceedings of the Third Day—Report of the Committee on Credentials—The Evening Session—The Fight over Illinois—The Fourth Day's Session—The Grant Lines show Signs of Weakness—Garfield's Masterly Management of the Ohio Delegation—Nomination of Candidates—Blaine and Grant Presented—General Garfield Nominates John Sherman—A Noble Speech—The Fifth Day's Session—Balloting for the Presidential Candidates—A Stubborn Fight—A Detailed Statement of the Ballots—The Sixth and Last Day—Wisconsin Votes for Garfield—The General endeavors to Stop the Movement in his Favor—He is unsuccessful—The Break to Garfield—The Thirty-sixth Ballot—Garfield Nominated for the Presidency—Exciting Scenes in the Convention—The Nomination Made Unanimous—Nomination of Vice-President—How Garfield's Nomination was brought about—Platform of the Republican Party for 1880.

THE National Convention of the Republican party met at Chicago, on the 2d of June, 1880. General Garfield attended it as the leader of the delegation from Ohio.

The place of meeting was the large hall of the Exposition Building. The correspondent of the *New York Herald* said of it on the day the convention assembled :

“The entire building is divided into sections—A, B,

C, and so on. Each section has its door, each door its official, each official the Chicago courtesy, passing which, the visitor finds himself in a hall 300 feet long and 150 feet wide. The platform is in the south end and the seats for delegates and alternates on the main floor running from the platform back about two hundred feet. On the other side of this, and running entirely round the building, are commodious galleries capable of seating in the neighborhood of nine thousand people. This, with the space for delegates, gives a seating capacity of between ten thousand and eleven thousand persons. The crowd outside is immense, and has been since early morning; but as the rules of admission are rigidly enforced the outsiders are compelled to content themselves with cheers and shouts and an occasional growl. The delegations which had been bothered beyond conception in getting tickets of admission were very slow in arriving. At half-past eleven there was no one in the hall beyond a large and very active band and a few enterprising correspondents who remembered the luck of the early bird.

“Little banners, shield-shaped, with Alabama, Arizona, and so on, printed on them, indicated the situation of each delegation. The A’s sat in the front benches, and the rest of the alphabet followed seriatim. The consequence is that Texas, West Virginia, and the other low down letters are much nearer the band and the rear than they fancy. To compare it with Madison Square Garden, imagine the stage placed at the Madison Avenue end and benches placed on the floor back to the cascade, where the band forms the lower line of a high stretch of seats for the public. The Alabama delegates are in the upper

left-hand corner, having all of seat 1 and part of seat 22. Then follow, in order, down the left side, including all of the first row and a portion of the second, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, and Illinois, ending with Indiana in the lower left corner. Iowa commences with the right end of No. 45 and left end of No. 69. Then, in order, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, ending with Arizona, and the District of Columbia on seat No. 46. Nebraska commences on No. 70, then follow down Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Dakota, Idaho and Montana, ending with New Mexico on No. 93. Utah is on the lower right corner. Then follow up on the right side, in order, Washington Territory, Texas, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, ending with Wisconsin in upper right corner on seat No. 96. Alternates are arranged in strictly alphabetical order. Commencing with Alabama, on seat No. 115, they follow down to No. 144, then commence with No. 174, running up to No. 145. Next comes No. 175, running down to No. 204, where the Wisconsin alternates will be seated."

General Garfield's appearance in the Convention was greeted with enthusiastic applause from the delegates and the audience. After the organization of the Convention he was appointed one of the Committee on Rules. This appointment was received with applause. A despatch to the *New York Herald* from Chicago that night, said:

“The name of General Garfield is also assuming prominence as a possible nomination of the Ohio delegation, should it be necessary to withdraw the name of Mr. Sherman. General Garfield will present the name of Mr. Sherman, and his speech and manner, it is thought, will make a very favorable impression on the Convention. The applause which greeted the name to-day when it was announced that he had been selected by the Ohio delegation to serve in the Committee on Rules was a marked compliment to him, which has not been forgotten to-night in the calculations of the thoughtful men.”

The hour appointed for the meeting of the Convention was twelve o'clock Wednesday, June 2, 1880. “The Alabama delegation,” says Mr. A. K. McClure, writing to the *Philadelphia Times*, “was first to file in as a body, and its two rows of President-makers nestled down in front of the stage, displaying every shade of complexion, from the pure white to the genuine African. Arkansas fell in greatly behind Alabama, with the familiar face of ex-Senator Dorsey at the head. Meantime the places allotted to the various States were being rapidly filled up by the rank and file of the delegations. But the leaders were slow in getting to their respective commands. The dignitaries who had been assigned to the seats for distinguished guests began to swarm in, and Frye, of Maine, and Chandler, of New Hampshire, buzzed them as they gathered in little knots to discuss the situation. General Beaver, chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation, swung himself along the side aisle on his crutches and sat down at the post of honor for his State, with Quay close by his side, and Cessna flitted hither and thither as if uncer-

tain that anything would be well done unless he gave it a helping hand. McManes dropped in late, a little paled by illness, but with all his Scotch-Irish doggedness written in his face. Jewell and Creswell, both of the Grant cabinet, came in about the same time, the first hoping to look down on the defeat of his old chief from the gallery of distinguished guests, and the other marshalling his delegation to give him back his Old Commander.

“Both look fresh and rosy as they did when they hugged their portfolios and enjoyed the hollow homage that is paid to honor at the Capital. The tall, sturdy form of ‘Long John’ Wentworth towered over all as he joined his delegation. He is stouter, redder, grayer and balder than eight years ago, when he rebelled against Grant. He has returned to his first love, and now wilts down his collars early in the morning working and cheering for the Silent Man.

“Just when the building had pretty nearly filled up there was a simultaneous huzzah throughout the hall and galleries, and it speedily broke out in a hearty applause. The tall and now silvered plume of Conkling was visible in the aisle, and he strode down to his place at the head of his delegation with the majesty of an emperor. He recognized the compliment by a modest bow, without lifting his eyes to the audience, and took his seat as serenely as if on a picnic and holiday. He has aged rapidly during the last year, and his once golden locks are thinned and whitened, while hard lines dispel the brightness of his finely-chiselled face. The Grant men seemed to be more comfortable when they found him by their side and evidently ready for the conflict. The sable Grant men from

the South, who believe Grant to be their political savior, look upon Conkling as his prophet, and they worship him as a demigod. Logan's swarthy features, flowing moustache and Indian hair were next visible on the eastern aisle, but he stepped to the head of his delegation so quietly that he escaped a special welcome. He sat as if in sober reflection for a few moments and then hastened over to Conkling to perfect their counsel on the eve of battle. The two senatorial leaders held close conference until the bustle about the chair gave notice that the opposing lines were about to begin to feel each other and test their position.

"Cameron had just stepped upon the platform with the elasticity of a boy, and his youthful but strongly-marked face was recognized at once. There was no applause. They all knew that he never plays for the galleries and that cheers are wasted upon him. The man who can bring him votes when he is in want of them can make his cold gray eyes kindle and his usually stolid features toy with a smile, but no man in the land more justly estimates the crowd that ever cheers the coming guest than does Cameron. He quietly sat down for ten minutes, although the time for calling the convention to order had passed by an hour, and he looked out upon the body so big with destiny for himself and his Grant associates. Passing by I asked him: 'What of the battle?' To which he answered: 'We have three hundred to start with, and we will stick until we win.'

"It was said with all the determination that his positive manner and expression could add to language, and it summed up his whole strategy. While he waited the

vacant places were fast filling up. Generals Sewell and Kilpatrick took their posts at the head of the New Jersey men, and just behind them the rosy faces of Garfield and Foster and the tall, spare form of Dennison were holding a hasty last council of the Sherman wing of the opposition. The youthful olive-shaded features of Bruce, of Mississippi, were visible in the centre of his delegation, and the dream of the Vice-Presidency made him restless and anxious.

“At five minutes after one Cameron quickly rose from his chair, advanced to the front and brought his gavel down gently upon the speaker’s desk. At once the confused hum of voices began to still, and the nearly ten thousand people present settled into perfect order. Cameron stood for half a minute after silence had been obtained, apparently free from all embarrassment, and finally said, in a clear voice :

“ ‘The convention will come to order, and will be opened with prayer.’

“The prayer followed, and was a very satisfactory test of the acoustic qualities of the hall. Then followed the reading of the call by Secretary Keogh, when Cameron enlisted the utmost attention by adjusting his eyeglasses and drawing from his coat-pocket a single sheet of foolscap paper. All knew that he would speak briefly, if at all, and that if he had anything to say he would say it with directness, and none were mistaken. In a speech of not over two minutes he got in some most telling blows for Grant, which were warmly cheered. He read his speech, and the delivery was clear and forcible.

“He closed by nominating Hoar for temporary chair-

man and put the question at once, and the unanimous approval of the convention, as evinced by its mingled votes and cheers, transferred the organization of the body to the anti-third-term combination. They breathed more freely when they saw Cameron out of the chair and Hoar in his place. But Cameron retired complacently, and both sides seemed to understand that victory to either depended upon the skill or accidents of future conflicts. Senator Hoar's benignant face and clerical cloth of the modern Puritan pattern were presented to the convention, and hearty applause greeted them. Mr. Hoar delivered an appropriate address, which was well received, and the work of the convention began.

“Hale, of Maine, first took the floor as Blaine's chief lieutenant. Every one waited eagerly to hear whether he was about to open the battle, but he simply offered the usual resolutions for a call of States to report committeemen. Routine business dragged along for some time, when Frye, of Maine, arose on the platform and called attention to the omission of Utah from the committee on credentials. He is Hale's fellow-leader of the Blaine men, and he is a fluent and skilful debater. His motion to have Utah represented in the committee was soon understood to be an attack on a vital part of the Grant line. As Conkling rose in his majestic and peaceful way to reply, a storm of applause welcomed him as the ‘leader of leaders.’ He at once locked horns with the gritty Blaine advocate. He made a most plausible special plea for the omission of Utah along with Louisiana, but Frye came back with the statement of the secretary of the National Committee that the omission was an accident and a mis-

take, and called out the ever-ready enthusiasm of the Blaine side. Conkling saw that his position was untenable, and he fell back in excellent order. The fiery Logan mounted his chair and offered a resolution for the admission of the five hundred veteran soldiers who are attending the convention. He knows just how to make a clap-trap speech for the veterans, and as they are generally Grant men, who were brought here to help the cause along, he played his veteran card for all that was in it. General Kilpatrick, who loves to speak on all questions, and especially on behalf of the soldiers, seconded Logan's effort. The anti-Grant men did not dare to offer opposition to the Grant reserves, for the galleries and Logan carried his motion, with generous applause from the Grant men.

“That ended the skirmishing in the field for the day, and Conkling hastened an adjournment until to-morrow at eleven o'clock without a contest. The battle was then transferred back to the lobbies of the hotels.

“The convention reassembled at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 3d of June. Conkling strode majestically down the aisle, bowed to the cheers which greeted him on every side, and the smile that played upon his face told that his antagonists, with a clear majority against him, had given him another day to lash them and a chance to return them defeat for their blunder. Cameron was with his delegation on the floor, as were Logan, Cresswell, and Boutwell, and they all displayed the self-satisfaction of repulsed chieftains who felt confident of fearfully punishing if not routing the Blaine men before the battle closed. Hamlin's dark face deepened the lines of age by the anx-

xiety that he could not conceal about the result of a battle that had to be fought for a day in skirmishes against superior strategists. A general engagement would give them certain victory if it could be forced at once. Frye and Hale were nervous and fretful under their now visible mistake, and attempted to relieve their error only to be defeated by Garfield finally coming in against their unprotected flank. After they had forced him into the action Conkling opened what he knew could be only an affair of outposts and one in which he must suffer least. With utmost coolness and all the air of a master he rose and moved a recess until six o'clock, giving the plausible reasons that the committee on credentials could not report earlier than four, and that the convention should not attempt any important business until its membership was ascertained. Hale sprang to his feet to grapple with the half-vanquished but yet fearfully dangerous Grant champion. He pleaded against delay, and quoted the precedent of Cincinnati in 1876, when the committees on rules and organization reported before the committee on credentials. He spoke well, but illy concealed the knowledge that Conkling was seeking to profit as large and as conspicuously as possible by a Blaine blunder.

“Conkling’s reply was masterly in its unexpressed contempt and scathing sarcasm. His keen arrow struck just where he had aimed it, and Hale’s irritation broke his voice so that his reply was unimpressive. But he got in a parting shot at his antagonist that allowed him to cover his retreat in a storm of applause. Both exhibited the utmost bitterness, but Conkling’s polished oratory made even his venom sublime. Hale won on the first vote by

defeating Conkling's motion, and while the now growing Blaine enthusiasm shouted over the victory, Conkling smiled and coolly waited his time, that he knew was near at hand. The report of the committee on organization was made and disposed of in a few minutes. When they came to the front to retrieve the Blaine folly of delaying the committee on credentials, by moving that the committee on rules be instructed to report, both sides knew what the report was, and that it contained one rule limiting speakers to five minutes. If they could carry that report, before the report of the committee on contested seats, the blunder of delay would be partially corrected, as it would prevent the debate against time that the Grant men mean to make on the disputed delegations. Logan tried to drive Frye back by points of order, but failed, and when General Sharpe, the New York member of the committee, said that he was instructed to make a minority report, and that the committee had voted to withhold the majority report until after the contested seats were disposed of, Conkling's grim smile told how he enjoyed Frye's discomfiture. But they foolishly appealed to General Garfield, chairman of the committee, and Garfield was compelled, but with evident reluctance, to sustain the statements made by General Sharpe. Frye was now completely unhorsed, and had to withdraw his own motion, and followed it with a motion to adjourn until five o'clock.

“ This brought Conkling to his feet to enjoy his victory, and, in one of his grandest flights of irony, he congratulated the Maine man on having kept ten thousand people in uncomfortable seats for two hours to ac-

compish just what he proposed to accomplish when the convention met. All of Conkling's bitterness was thrown into his effort to portray the littleness of Blaine's leaders, and he sat down amidst thunders of applause. The vast audience had seen the first blood drawn by the gladiator and they wanted more. They called for Frye and Hale until Frye mounted his chair for a farewell broadside at his dreaded antagonist, and he got it in neatly and stopped at the right point. With a good imitation of Conkling's patronizing manner, he returned the thanks of the Maine delegation to the gentleman from New York for his congratulations, and he added that he hoped when the work of the convention shall have been concluded, Mr. Conkling would send his congratulations to the gentleman from Maine. It was a fair hit, and even Conkling joined the audience in its shouts of laughter. The convention then adjourned.

“ When it reassembled at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, it was announced that the committee on contested seats would not be ready to report until late in the evening. This fretted the Blaine leaders, who have held the Grant men as the under-dogs all day, and had the galleries fully impressed with the belief that Blaine would be nominated as soon as a vote could be reached. They felt that they had blundered by delay, and they plunged in to multiply their blunders, in the vain hope that they could recover their lost opportunity. Henderson, of Iowa, opened the Blaine fire by renewing Frye's motion of the morning session to instruct the committee on rules to report. The sable gentleman in that Blaine wood-pile is hidden in the rule known to have been adopted by the

committee limiting debate to five-minute speeches, and if that rule could be established before the report of the committee on credentials, it would cut off the expected long debate on the disputed seats. It was a desperate and awkward struggle of the Blaine men to regain the golden hours they had thrown away, but it provoked a running debate in which they suffered greatly. Logan and Boutwell made earnest protests, but Gen. Harrison, who has a wistful eye on the Vice-Presidency, crushed out the petty strategy of Henderson by a manly and eloquent appeal for fair play and free debate. General Sharpe followed and put the Blaine men in the attitude of seeking to violate the plighted faith of the entire committee, by which it was agreed that their report should not be made until the contested seats were settled, and thus avoid the arbitrary limitation of debate on the great preliminary battle. General Garfield, chairman of the committee on rules, sustained General Sharpe as to the action of the committee, but invited the convention to instruct him to report. General Sharpe followed by a shrewd exhibition of strategy in the shape of an amendment requiring the committee on contested seats to report at once.

“This brought the opposing forces face to face. When he demanded a vote by call of the States it forced the first test of the strength of the Grant and combined opposition factions, and the most intense excitement and repeated outbreaks of applause attended the roll-call. The unit-rule question was speedily settled when the first State was called. The chairman of the Alabama delegation reported the vote as 20 for the

Sharpe amendment, but when a colored delegate protested and said that he wished his vote recorded in the negative, President Hoar answered: 'The vote will be so recorded,' and the unit rule disappeared amidst vociferous cheers. The vote for Sharpe's amendment was a clean Grant vote, outside of Vermont, whose delegation erected a very legible finger-board to lead the Grant men to Edmunds as the dark horse by voting solid with the Grant men. It made a visible flutter throughout the convention, and sent a chill to many of the ardent Blaine men. It proved that Cameron, Conkling, and Edmunds understood each other, and that Edmunds is the heir apparent of the Grant dynasty. Pennsylvania voted 31 to 23, showing that Blaine has made no progress in his native State to-day, with all the apparent tide in his favor and the ebb of the Grant cause; and when Conkling reported exactly the same number of Blaine men in New York, the stubborn staying qualities of the defeated Grant men greatly sobered the leaders, who believed the nomination of Blaine to be assured by the general disintegration of the third-termers. The vote footed up 318 for Sharpe's amendment, and 406 against it, exhibiting 308 positive Grant votes, leaving out Vermont, and but 88 majority for the combined Blaine, Sherman, Washburne, and Windom opposition. When the vote was analyzed it became apparent that the actual Blaine vote was fifty less than the vote for Grant, and that of the opposition vote about forty from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and elsewhere were cast by Edmunds men. Brandagee, of Connecticut, followed the vote by a motion to lay the Henderson original motion

on the table, and the Blaine men were again signally defeated in their ill-advised strategy by the success of Brandagee's movement, and an adjournment until ten o'clock to-morrow was then speedily carried."

The third day's session opened at ten o'clock on the morning of the 4th of June. "Conkling struck out boldly when time was called in the morning, and he disconcerted Hale by his resolution declaring that all delegates should be bound to give a cordial support to the nominee of the convention. It was a resolution that Hale could not oppose, and yet he knew that all understood it as a public notice from the imperious Grant leader, that if Grant was beaten Blaine would share discomfiture with him. Conkling did it with the grandest dramatic effect, and it gave inspiration to the Grant followers, while it chilled the whole Blaine army and exposed the weak point of the allies. The resolution prevailed without opposition, but Conkling demanded a call of the States and made the most out of his early spanking of Hale. Three West Virginia Sherman men voted against the resolution, and Conkling at once swung the party lash to stripe them before the multitude, but after a rambling debate of an issue he withdrew his whip and let the dissenters pursue their go-as-you-please plan.

"Finally the committee on credentials reported, and the changes made in the Pennsylvania cases were the strongest evidence of the loss of vim and leadership in the Blaine men. They had reconsidered the Lancaster case and lost two votes, and the Pollock-Campion and the Brown-Buch cases had been allowed to remain as

the Grant men had fixed them. Night before last the Blaine committee started out to decide all doubtful cases, if not all cases, in their own favor, and the Grant men ruefully prepared for such a fate ; but a day was lost to Blaine when the tide was at its flood, and the tide ebbed before Blaine has come to victory, as could have been done by anything like skilful management. A general relaxation and shuffling off followed, and even the Blaine credentials committee gave Grant four votes in Pennsylvania which they could have retained on plausible grounds in two cases, and in obedience to the mandate of the Lancaster Republicans in the other two cases. It is not surprising, therefore, that the proceedings of to-day exhibited only a succession of irritating skirmish attacks from the Grant managers and little or no manly resistance from the Blaine side.

“After Conkling had played with the Blaine men until he wearied of it Logan scored a brilliant triumph over the credentials committee on an appeal to the convention. A protest had been sent to the committee by some Illinois outsiders, alleging that the Springfield convention was not a regular body, and that there were no properly elected delegates-at-large from the State. The committee received the protest, unanimously decided against it, and reported that the Logan delegates were entitled to their seats. Logan resented the mere reference to his right to his place by the committee as a wanton imputation upon it when he had no contestant, and General Sharpe followed with a motion to expunge all reference to the delegates-at-large from the report. The Blaine leaders fought shy of the issue. Hale and

Frye were silent, but their delegation did a good share of applause when opportunity for it offered. The allies were distrustful of their power, and they did not venture to get into line of battle. The result was that Logan bore off his laurels in triumph.

“ Altogether the session was a succession of defiant advances against the Blaine outposts, and when adjournment was reached the Grant men were victors in all the skirmishes of the day.

“ The evening session brought the factious belligerents face to face on the question of contested seats, and General Harrison voiced the impatience of delegates and auditors by proposing to limit debate to forty minutes in each case. With little preliminary sparring the convention got down to work, taking up the Alabama contest. The Grant men were at a disadvantage that they well appreciated, as they were compelled to break their line or array themselves against the popular principle of direct representation of the people through the district, but they proved their perfect discipline by standing up squarely to the rack and accepting the issue. They knew that they must lose some, as one of the Grant delegates from Alabama made an earnest appeal in favor of the rights of districts, and Vermont could not be held on such a test. The debate was weak on the minority side, as Conkling, Logan, and the Grant dictators left the hopeless battle to their Southern friends, while Conger, Bateman, and other Blaine and Sherman orators, defended their cause on the floor. Three broke in Alabama, six of the Vermont men joined the allies, and there were straggling losses in Georgia, Texas, and North Carolina; but the

Grant column stood up 306 strong on the severest test that could be imposed, while the allies polled 449. By this decision the Grant men lose two votes in Alabama, and they will next lose eighteen in Illinois and gain four in Kansas. When the contested seats shall all have been settled the nett loss to Grant will be eighteen, which will leave the Grant men an available vote of nearly three hundred that can be handled as a solid body. It will be solid for Grant, or for the man who may take the place of Grant all the time.

“The Illinois case followed also, and it was the signal for the giants to come to the front. Logan opened the fight, with his usual pluck, against the motion to limit debate to an hour. He blundered outside of the record, and made a telling Grant speech, calling out the strongest eruption of enthusiasm for the ‘old soldier’ that had yet been exhibited. He would have made a strong hit, but he unfortunately called out Haymond, of California, to answer a question, and the Golden Star orator deliv-ered a broadside for Blaine that enabled the Blaine gal-leries to outdo the Grant applause immensely. It was kept up for five minutes, all the Blaine delegates and a large majority of the galleries rising and joining in the successive thunders of applause. Logan faced it grace-fully like a man, but his speech was love’s labor lost. He gained his point, however, by gaining two hours for the description of the Illinois case, besides his own speech of a full half hour.

“The debate on the Illinois factions was opened by Conger, chairman of the credentials committee, in defence of the report and in favor of unseating eighteen Grant

delegates. His speech was much the same as a half dozen others he had delivered during the day, and the vast audience sympathized with the convention in its weariness of that speech of Conger's. Raum, one of the sitting delegates, followed and threw much life into the dry details he gave of Republican precedents, but Anthony, a contestant, answered with equal ability, and he moulded Republican history in just the opposite way. Storrs followed in defence of the Grant delegates, and made some strong points, but he spoke with that heaviness that is common when a man faces palpable and inevitable defeat until he accidentally struck the Blaine chord, by saying in a conciliatory tone, 'Nominate James G. Blaine, if you will,' when the Blaine galleries broke out in a tempest of applause that was kept up for several minutes. He waited patiently until order was restored, when he countered with a beautiful tribute to the old soldier, and the Grant men simultaneously rose and stormed the convention with deafening applause for fully fifteen minutes. 'Long John' Wentworth threw up his hat, Conkling and Tom Murphy answered from New York, and the excitement was soon brought to such a pitch that hats, handkerchiefs, and umbrellas were sent flying in the air. Some of the colored delegates jerked off their coats and whirled them around in the most frantic manner. In noise, earnestness, and endurance it threw all previous Blaine demonstrations in the shade, and clearly outlined the unconquerable determination of the Grant followers. When the storm was just beginning to calm a little, the Alabama delegation struck up the song of 'Marching through Georgia,' and the galleries

took up the refrain. Hoar looked on complacently and waited patiently for the volcano to quiet itself, but just when things seemed likely to settle the Blaine men started in fresh, and as they had two-thirds of the galleries they shouted and cheered louder than their opponents, and kept it up quite as long. The ten thousand people present, who had been weary or worn out by tedious debate, were easily fired by one side or the other. A perfect pandemonium followed, and it was a full hour before the yelling ceased from sheer exhaustion. The riotous applause lasted a full hour, each side cheering in turn.

“When the convention finally settled down the President attempted to put the question, but the only response was a fresh confusion of cheers for Blaine and Grant. Raum at last diverted the shouters by proposing three cheers for the nominee of the convention, which were given with a will. Storrs then attempted to proceed, but he incidentally named Sherman, and the Sherman men took a brief tilt at applause, but it was feeble and soon wore itself out. He then finished his speech at a quarter to one.

“Pixley, of California, followed with a brief speech that somewhat sobered the convention. He characterized the demonstrations as worthy only of France and the Commune. Butterworth moved to adjourn until ten o'clock and demanded a call of the roll. It was finished at 1.10 A. M., and the adjournment was defeated by the overwhelming vote of 653 to 103.

“The vote was then about to be taken on the Illinois contest, when Clayton of Arkansas, moved to substitute

the minority report relating to the First Congressional district, and a call of the roll was ordered, resulting in the defeat of the amendment by 387 to 353. Many of the delegations had one or more absentees, worn out by the protracted session and exhausting cheering, and Kansas declined to vote. As the Blaine sauce for Illinois throws out four Blaine men in that State, the result was received with vociferous applause from the Grant men, as it nearly annihilated the allied majority. Sixteen in Ohio broke, which is regarded as the Grant strength there as against Blaine. The question then recurred on the original report, seating the contesting anti-Grant delegates from the first district of Illinois, and Logan demanded the call of the roll. It was concluded at 1.45 A. M., and the majority report was adopted by 384 to 356. Pennsylvania voted 34 on the Logan side and 24 against it. Logan then called a division of the question on the eight districts, but the variance was not material from the test vote in the first district. The eighteen anti-Grant men were certain of being seated, and as they were admitted they swelled the sadly cut down allied majority. A motion to adjourn to eleven o'clock on Saturday was carried at half-past two.

“President Hoar did not call the convention to order on the morning of the fourth day, June 5th, until a quarter before twelve o'clock. The Kansas contest was the first business and it was an embarrassing issue to both sides. The Blaine-Sherman men were compelled to vote out four of their men and give their seats to Grant men to justify their action in the Illinois case, and the Grant men had to vote against the admission of their own

friends to maintain their consistency. The Blaine-Sherman men preserved their intention and voted out their own men, but some of the fierce Grant men stood obstinately to their guns and voted against the addition of four to their number. Logan rose and, in dramatic style, cast the votes of his Illinois followers against his friends. The overwhelming vote of 476 to 184 showed, however, that separate district representation is henceforth to be the accepted law of the party. The next question brought about a sudden change of partners in the national waltz. Two Sherman men contested the seats of the Blaine delegates from West Virginia, and the Sherman men were thrown into an alliance with Grant as if by magic. The cut came from Massachusetts, and the Blaine leaders saw that an unexpected and serious danger threatened them. They threw out their flanks to stay the union between the Sherman and Grant forces, but it was Grouchy after Blucher over again. The Sherman men filed in with the Grant army, and Blaine was compelled for the first time to face the field alone, as Grant had to meet it in several previous conflicts. An active rally was made along the Blaine lines, but the vote of every divided delegation proved that many who were bitterly against Grant were as bitterly against Blaine, and the ballot footed up 417 for the new Grant-Sherman combination and 312 against.

“This was the first show of the positive Blaine strength, and it presented a majority of 84 against him, but it also showed that Blaine had more positive strength than Grant in the convention. The next test vote was yet a more severe trial for Blaine. The Utah contest

was between the Grant contestants and the Blaine sitting members, and, to the surprise of the Blaine leaders, Massachusetts again gave the hint to the convention that the field would again combine against Blaine. The issue seemed to be extremely perilous to Blaine, but they had no way to escape. They had no chance for retreat and none for victory, and they had to stand up as bravely as possible and receive the shock. The prestige of the West Virginia vote was with the field, against Blaine, and it had its effect, as was shown by the increased anti-Blaine vote. The Grant-Sherman combination increased its vote for the admission of the square Grant delegates to the seats of two square Blaine delegates from 417 on the West Virginia to 426 on the Utah nine, and the Blaine vote was reduced from 330 to 312. These votes indicated a rapid crystallization of the field against Blaine, and the Blaine leaders would have floundered indefinitely had not the Grant leaders reinspired them by forcing their battle too fast and too far. When General Garfield moved the adoption of the report on rules, General Sharpe, one of the staunchest and ablest of the Grant managers, threw the Blaine men into consternation by moving to proceed at once to the general nomination of candidates for President. Sharpe made his motion deliberately, and he evidently had a two-fold purpose in offering it. He hoped that the new Sherman allies would stand by the Grant men in forcing the fight and thus demoralize the Blaine lines, or, failing in that, he desired to demonstrate the exact strength of Grant against both Blaine and Sherman and the necessity of uniting on a candidate against Blaine.

“General Garfield at once met General Sharpe with an order for his allies to fall back into the Blaine camp again, and that gave notice that the scenes were suddenly shifted and that the Blaine-Sherman combination would at once resume business. When a roll-call was demanded there was a general bustle among the delegations, and all stragglers were hastily summoned into line. The result proved that Grant had 276 votes against the field and that the field had 479 against Grant. The result was received with a storm of applause from the well-crowded Blaine galleries, and the Blaine leaders were again restored to the command of the convention by the bold movement of General Sharpe. It was not a distinct Blaine victory; but it was a decisive Grant defeat, and it was accepted as a formal judgment that Grant was outside the pale of success. The Blaine men were timid notwithstanding their substantial recovery from the disaster suffered in the West Virginia and Utah cases, and they feared to press the struggle. Both sides considered Pierrepont's platform leisurely, as if each was afraid to precipitate the great battle, and when the tedious resolutions had jogged through a sluggish debate on civil service reform, with nobody exhibiting any disposition to hasten results, the Blaine men were afraid to go on and afraid to move to adjourn. Ex-Postmaster General Creswell came to the relief of both sides at 4.50 P. M., by a motion to adjourn until seven o'clock. All the preliminary work was out of the way, and the convention had to face a direct struggle on the nomination or adjourn. A few feeble noes were given on the question, but nobody demanded a roll-call, and the three jarring elements of the conven-

tion rushed out to see which could best plot and counter-plot to destroy the others.

“The probability that the final struggle was at hand attracted an eager crowd to the evening session. The galleries were jammed before the hour of meeting, and every place that would allow of a man to be crowded into it was occupied before President Hoar’s gavel fell. The scene was the most brilliant of all the many brilliant exhibitions given in the great hall during the last four days. There were no laggards among the delegates and the commanders were at their posts on sharp time. The ladies largely increased their numbers among the spectators, and on every side the most intense interest was manifested. The Blaine men were hopeful, but they did not conceal their apprehensions that their bitter battle against Grant might recoil upon them fearfully to-night. It has been clear since early in the day that the contest would be between Blaine and the field, and in every preliminary trial the field had won, but the Blaine men feel confident that they can command a clear majority against any one man. Such were the hopes and expectations of the Blaine leaders when seven o’clock summoned them to the final grapple with their foes. The Grant men came into action with little or no hope of success for their favorite, but they have taken their last stand to make Blaine share their defeat. Both the Sherman and Grant managers feel that delay will be in their favor. They do not want to betray their position by forcing an adjournment over till Monday, but their policy will be to protract the ballots and wear out the night session. Such was the attitude of the belligerents when the convention opened this evening.

“Hale, the chief Blaine leader, took the floor as soon as the convention was ready for business, and there was a sudden hush, followed by applause as soon as he was recognized. It was regarded as the signal for a determined advance of the Blaine men, but the disappointment was general among his followers when he made what was, under the circumstances, a dilatory motion. With two hours certain to be occupied in speeches presenting candidates, not more than two hours would remain for balloting, as the advent of Sunday will adjourn the body at twelve. It was accepted by all sides as indicating hesitation on the part of the Blaine chieftains. When the name of Cameron was reported as the unanimous choice of Pennsylvania for the national committee, he received his first hearty cheers from the galleries.

“Both Illinois and Maine made no response when called to nominate a candidate for President, but when Michigan was called, Mr. Joy at once rose and nominated Blaine.

“After some desultory sparring over the national committee had been lazily disposed of there was nothing left but to go to Presidential nominations, and Hale was compelled to lead off because the others would not and could afford to wait. He finally rose and moved the call of the States for general nominations for President. When Illinois was called, being the first State in alphabetical order that has candidates, there was no response, and like silence followed the call of Maine, but when Michigan was called, Mr. Joy rose to nominate Blaine. It was one of the many blunders of the Blaine leaders, as his speech was dry, uninspiring, and never elicited a cheer,

except twice when he named Blaine. Long-continued cheers followed, and at one time a repetition of the last night yelling blockade was apprehended. Colonel Pixley, of California, seconded the nomination. He improved on Joy, but fell far short of the expectations of the Blaine people. Indeed, so indifferently had Blaine been advocated, that Frye, had to come forward and ask to be heard by a suspension of the rules. It was granted, of course, and he gave the Blaine men a taste of what they wanted. His five-minute speech was grand, bold, and eloquent, and Blaine was redeemed. When Minnesota was called, Mr. Drake, of Minnesota, came forward and named Windom, but it was a failure. He did not fill his ten minutes, and the audience gave him a few parting cheers.

“New York was soon called, and Conkling rose and quickly stepped upon the platform. It was the signal for thunders of applause. With difficulty silence was finally restored, and the vast gathering suddenly hushed into perfect stillness. Conscious that his cause was a hopeless one, he spoke with all the inspiration of one who was about to gather the garland of victory. He was sublimely eloquent. His polished blows at Blaine were as terrible as they were elegant, and his epigrammatic tributes to Grant exhausted the power of language. Nearly every sentence was interrupted by an ovation. When he said that Grant had no appliances and no telegraph running from his house to this convention the Blaine galleries sent up a flood of hisses and jeers and calls for ‘time,’ as he had exceeded his ten minutes. For some time the galleries would not allow him to be heard, but he stood calmly, with folded arms, until the

opposition exhausted itself. Then he said, as only Conkling could say it, 'Go on, if you will; it doesn't come out of my time.' It then occurred to the Blaine followers, even in the galleries, that the night was passing, and that they were themselves aiding to postpone a nomination until Monday. He was then allowed to finish, and he retired amid a tempest of cheers. The speech was equal to Ingersoll's speech for Blaine in 1876 in eloquence and power.

"It was fully twenty minutes after Conkling left the platform before order could be restored. The Grant men in convention and galleries took a regular jubilee, and President Hoar had to sit down and let disorder tire itself out. The Grant delegation 'pooled' the flags which mark their States, marched around the aisles, cheering and yelling as if bedlam had broken loose. Finally, Bradley, of Kentucky, was allowed to speak, seconding the nomination of Grant; but it was tame after Conkling.

"Garfield next rose and the audience started a new storm of applause. As soon as he could be heard he nominated Sherman and delivered an eloquent and impressive appeal for his candidate, but neither galleries nor convention had half as much applause for Sherman as they had for Garfield himself."

The following is the full text of General Garfield's speech :

"Mr. President: I have witnessed the extraordinary scenes of this convention with deep solicitude. No emotion touches my heart more quickly than a sentiment in honor of a great and noble character. But

as I sat on these seats and witnessed these demonstrations, it seemed to me you were a human ocean in a tempest. I have seen the sea lashed into fury and tossed into a spray, and its grandeur moves the soul of the dullest man. But I remember that it is not the billows, but the calm level of the sea from which all heights and depths are measured. When the storm has passed and the hour of calm settles on the ocean, when sunshine bathes its smooth surface, then the astronomer and surveyor takes the level from which he measures all terrestrial heights and depths. Gentlemen of the convention, your present temper may not mark the healthful pulse of the people.

“When our enthusiasm has passed, when the emotions of this hour have subsided, we shall find the calm level of public opinion, below the storm, from which the thoughts of a mighty people are to be measured, and by which their final action will be determined. Not here, in this brilliant circle, where 15,000 men and women are assembled, is the destiny of the Republic to be decreed; not here, where I see the enthusiastic faces of 756 delegates waiting to cast their votes into the urn and determine the choice of their party; but by 5,000,000 Republican firesides, where the thoughtful fathers, with wives and children about them, with the calm thoughts inspired by love of home and love of country, with the history of the past, the hopes of the future, and the knowledge of the great men who have adorned and blessed our nation in days gone by,—there God prepares the verdict that shall determine the wisdom of our work to-night. Not in Chicago, in the heat

of June, but in the sober quiet that comes between now and November, in the silence of deliberate judgment, will this great question be settled. Let us aid them to-night.

“But now, gentlemen of the convention, what do we want? Bear with me a moment. Hear me for this cause, and, for a moment, be silent that you may hear. Twenty-five years ago this Republic was wearing a triple chain of bondage. Long familiarity with the traffic in the body and souls of men had paralyzed the consciences of a majority of our people. The baleful doctrine of State sovereignty had shocked and weakened the noblest and most beneficent powers of the national government, and the grasping power of slavery was seizing the virgin Territories of the West and dragging them into the den of eternal bondage. At that crisis the Republican party was born. It drew its first inspiration from the fire of liberty which God has lighted in every man’s heart, and which all the powers of ignorance and tyranny can never wholly extinguish. The Republican party came to deliver and save the Republic. It entered the arena when the beleaguered and assailed Territories were struggling for freedom, and drew around them the sacred circle of liberty, which the demon of slavery has never dared to cross. It made them free forever.

“Strengthened by its victory on the frontier, the young party, under the leadership of that great man, who on this spot, twenty years ago, was made its leader, entered the national capital and assumed the high duties of the Government. The light which shone from its

banner dispelled the darkness in which slavery had enshrouded the Capitol and melted the shackles of every slave, and consumed, in the fire of liberty, every slave-pen within the shadow of the Capitol. Our national industries, by an impoverishing policy, were themselves prostrated, and the streams of revenue flowed in such feeble currents that the treasury itself was well nigh empty. The money of the people was the wretched notes of 2,000 uncontrolled and irresponsible State bank corporations, which were filling the country with a circulation that poisoned rather than sustained the life of business.

“The Republican party changed all this. It abolished the babel of confusion and gave the country a currency as national as its flag, based upon the sacred faith of the people. It threw its protecting arm around our great industries, and they stood erect as with new life. It filled with the spirit of true nationality all the great functions of the Government. It confronted a rebellion of unexampled magnitude, with a slavery behind it, and, under God, fought the final battle of liberty until victory was won. Then, after the storms of battle, were heard the sweet, calm words of peace uttered by the conquering nation, and saying to the conquered foe that lay prostrate at its feet, ‘This is our only revenge, that you join us in lifting to the serene firmament of the Constitution, to shine like stars forever and forever, the immortal principles of truth and justice, that all men, white or black, shall be free and stand equal before the law.’ Then came the questions of reconstruction, the public debt, and the public faith.

“In the settlement of these questions the Republican party has completed its twenty-five years of glorious existence, and it has sent us here to prepare it for another lustrum of duty and of victory. How shall we do this great work? We cannot do it, my friends, by assailing our Republican brethren. God forbid that I should say one word to cast a shadow upon any name on the roll of our heroes. This coming fight is our Thermopylæ. We are standing upon a narrow isthmus. If our Spartan hosts are united we can withstand all the Persians that the Xerxes of Democracy can bring against us.

“Let us hold our ground this one year, for the stars in their courses fight for us in the future. The census to be taken this year will bring re-enforcements and continued power. But, in order to win this victory now, we want the vote of every Republican, of every Grant Republican in America, of every Blaine man and every anti-Blaine man. The vote of every follower of every candidate is needed to make our success certain; therefore I say, gentlemen and brethren, we are here to calmly counsel together, and inquire what we shall do. [A voice: ‘Nominate Garfield.’—Great applause.]

“We want a man whose life and opinions embody all the achievements of which I have spoken. We want a man who, standing on a mountain height, sees all the achievements of our past history, and carries in his heart the memory of all its glorious deeds, and who, looking forward, prepares to meet the labor and the dangers to come. We want one who will act in no spirit of unkindness toward those we lately met in battle. The Republican party offers to our brethren of the South the olive

branch of peace, and wishes them to return to brotherhood, on this supreme condition, that it shall be admitted, forever and for evermore, that, in the war for the Union, we were right and they were wrong. [Cheers.] On that supreme condition we meet them as brethren, and no other. We ask them to share with us the blessings and honors of this great Republic.

“Now, gentlemen, not to weary you, I am about to present a name for your consideration—the name of a man who was the comrade, and associate, and friend of nearly all those noble dead whose faces look down upon us from these walls to-night [cheers]; a man who began his career of public service twenty-five years ago, whose first duty was courageously done in the days of peril on the plains of Kansas, when the first red drops of that bloody shower began to fall which finally swelled into the deluge of war. He bravely stood by young Kansas then, and, returning to his duty in the national legislature, through all subsequent time his pathway has been marked by labors performed in every department of legislation.

“You ask for his monuments. I point you to twenty-five years of the national statutes. Not one great beneficent statute has been placed on our statute books without his intelligent and powerful aid. He aided these men to formulate the laws that raised our great armies and carried us through the war. His hand was seen in the workmanship of those statutes that restored and brought back the unity and married calm of the States. His hand was in all that great legislation that created the war currency, and in a greater work that redeemed the prom-

ises of the Government, and made the currency equal to gold. And when, at last, called from the halls of legislation into a high executive office, he displayed that experience, intelligence, firmness, and poise of character which has carried us through a stormy period of three years. With one half the public press crying 'Crucify him!' and a hostile Congress seeking to prevent success—in all this he remained unmoved until victory crowned him.

"The great fiscal affairs of the nation and the great business interests of the country he has guarded and preserved, while executing the law of resumption, and effecting its object, without a jar, and against the false prophecies of one half of the press and all the Democracy of this continent. He has shown himself able to meet with calmness the great emergencies of the Government for twenty-five years. He has trodden the perilous heights of public duty, and against all the shafts of malice has borne his breast unharmed. He has stood in the blaze of "that fierce light that beats against the throne," but its fiercest ray has found no flaw in his armor, no stain on his shield.

"I do not present him as a better Republican, or as a better man than thousands of others we honor, but I present him for your deliberate consideration. I nominate John Sherman, of Ohio."

"Elliot, the colored orator of South Carolina, varied the monotony of the generally indifferent speeches nominating candidates by an eloquent and well-delivered appeal for Sherman, and ex-Governor Smith, of Vermont, then started the Edmunds, boom, which was seconded by Sandford, of Massachusetts. The convention and the

galleries were both wearied of the oratory and fireworks, and repeated manifestations of impatience were given. As soon as it became probable that a ballot must go over till Monday, the interest of the vast audience visibly flagged, and empty seats became visible as crowds rushed to escape the heat of the hall. At 11.30, Cassidy, of Wisconsin, rose to nominate Washburne, but Conkling, Frye, and Garfield had made all ordinary speeches stale and unprofitable, and neither Cassidy nor his theme inspired enthusiasm.

“Brandagee, of Connecticut, infused fresh spirit into the jaded audience by a sprightly, eloquent seconding of Washburne. He closed at 11.50 p. m., leaving Sunday but ten minutes off. The nominations were then finished, and a motion to adjourn until ten o'clock on Monday was carried just as the midnight hour was struck.”

When the doors of the convention were opened on the morning of Monday, June 7th, “hurried streams of humanity poured in at every entrance, and when the hour arrived for President Hoar to swing his gavel, all the portions of the hall within possible hearing of the proceedings were jammed to the uttermost. Even the reserved platform of the correspondents was invaded by the crowd until communication with the hundred batteries which maintained their ceaseless clicking hard by was almost entirely interrupted. The ladies gave their wealth of smiles upon the conflict of the political giants in greater profusion than at any previous session, and the distinguished guests were wedged in upon each other as if they were no more than common flesh and blood.

“Hoar came in ahead of time and looked serene as a

summer morning that welcomed him to his task, and his face was fresh as the roses which shed their exquisite tints and fragrance on his table. He has borne himself so well, so impartially, and so intelligently, that all felt assured of a faithful umpire in the desperation of the last charge of the contending hosts. Alabama, as usual, was first to present a full delegation, and Arkansas, just behind her, speedily followed. The colored troops were generally among the first to the front, and they evidently meant to fight nobly. Conkling was mindful of the potency of dramatic strategy, and knew that he would meet his grandest welcome as he passed before his allies to lead them in the hand-to-hand struggle. He waited until just before the time for calling to order, and then strode into the hall with that magnificent bearing that none of his rivals can imitate. As soon as his tall form and silvered crown were visible, the shout went up that all understood, and it was heartier and longer than before. He walked down the aisle with the utmost exposure, and gracefully bowed his recognition of the homage tendered him. Garfield is the member of the convention who divides with Conkling the popular welcome at every opening. He has evidently studied the graces for such occasions less, and therefore appears to have studied them more; while Conkling is either so complete in his culture or so gifted in the perfection of manner, that he seems to be a born leader and grandly conscious of it. Conkling's dress has the appearance of the most elegant negligence, while Garfield comes with his carefully adjusted tie and collar, closely buttoned frock-coat and displaying a genteel mixture of mirror poses and Western go-as-you-please.

“He received a royal welcome when he entered, and his strong, rugged features lightened like the rippled lake with its dancing sunshine. Cameron was active, silent and determined as ever. He flitted hurriedly among the distinguished guests, before the signal gun was fired, and then retired to his immediate command. Hale and Frye were among the first to take their position, and hope and fear were plainly wrestling with each other on their faces. Hale was pale with anxiety, and the usually flushed features of Frye were redder than are their wont. Both seemed well poised and reasonably self-reliant, but the contrast between their nervous apprehensions and the calm defiance of Conkling was a study for the intelligent observers of men. Chandler was restless, and his little face seemed to have shrunk away behind his eye-glasses.

“Logan was calm as the dark cloud that is just waiting to hurl its thunderbolt. He sat as still as a statue, his swarthy features appearing darker than usual, and his fierce black eyes now and then darting out their most defiant flashes. He seemed conscious that his leader was beaten, but he was evidently resolved that there should be a costly retreat for the pursuing hosts. Garfield, Foster, Dennison, Bateman, Butterfield, and other Ohio leaders, were to be seen in little knots of their delegation, as if they feared defection at an early stage of the contest, and there was evident unrest among the Indiana men. General Harrison’s short form and sharply-cut features were shaded with anxiety. He feared Grant, and now that Grant seemed to be beaten, he was impressed with the possibility of the grandson of a Presi-

dent being the choice of exhausted factions. General Sewell sat in front of Conkling, and his youthful face exhibited the coolness and determination which characterized him in the heat of battle. As far as faces could be distinguished in the great arena, all seemed to be soberly anxious for the order to advance.

“When President Hoar called the convention to order, there was a speedy hush, and the vast multitude was seated with wonderful alacrity. All seemed anxious for the fight to begin. The minister who opened with prayer shared the general appreciation of the value of the fleeting moments, and his petition had the merit of brevity. President Hoar at once called the combatants to the arena, and gave notice that there should be no delay, no debate, no tricks by changing votes after once cast; and he faithfully enforced the rules. Hale came promptly to the front by moving to proceed to a ballot. His manner was courageous, and the Blaine men sent up a cheer to encourage him. Conkling followed, and seconded the motion with an air that plainly told his followers he was ready for the fray, and the Grant galleries welcomed him with a storm of applause. The roll-call was at once begun amidst most intense anxiety, many of the leaders exhibiting painful suspense.

“Alabama opened for Grant by giving him nearly a solid vote, and Arkansas followed with an entirely solid vote for him. There was faint applause, but all sides joined in hissing it down. Next came California with a united vote for Blaine, which was announced by Pixley in a dramatic way and with a clap-trap sentence for the galleries, but the president rose and notified the chairmen

of delegations that no comment of any kind would be allowed. The ballot then ran along in a regulation way until Connecticut was called, when there was breathless silence to hear the response, and when it gave Blaine but three and Grant none, there was a double disappointment. The next State that excited special attention was New York, and when Conkling rose to announce the vote, every one strained forward to catch his words. In a distinct voice he slowly responded: 'Two votes are reported for Sherman, seventeen for Blaine, and fifty-one are for Grant.' His emphasis upon the words, 'are for Grant,' was an exhibition of Conkling's own method of impressing himself upon those around him, and but for the common desire to prefer a vote to a hurrah there would have been a storm of cheers. Ohio threw a wet blanket on the Sherman men by casting nine votes for Blaine on the first ballot, and it brightened the faces of a vast majority of the spectators. Pennsylvania was another of the States that silenced the audience when called, as she was about to declare how Cameron had held the Grant lines there against the impetuous dashes made by the Blaine men. There was evident gratification among the Grant followers and equal disappointment among the Blaine men when General Beaver's clear, strong voice thundered out so that all could hear it: 'Pennsylvania votes thirty-two for Grant, twenty-three for Blaine, and three for Sherman.' There was little variation from the generally understood attitudes of the States called after Pennsylvania, and the ballot closed in the most orderly manner.

"When the secretary announced that Grant had

reached 304; Blaine, 284; Sherman, 93; Edmunds, 34; Washburne, 30, and Windom 10, there was a spontaneous shout from the Grant ranks, and the Blaine leaders and followers were grievously mortified. Hale and Frye could not conceal their apprehensions that they had miscalculated their strength, and that the defeat of their plumed knight was more than probable. They had confidently counted on from 305 to 315 for Blaine on the first ballot, and they conceded only 275 to Grant. But the battle was upon them; there was no time allowed to rally or gather up stragglers, and they had to push the fight as best they could with the prestige, on which many hesitating votes depended, clearly against them. The Grant galleries seemed to take in the situation, and to understand that rapid voting rather than boisterous cheering was their policy. The moment the vote was announced by President Hoar he ordered another ballot, holding that nothing was in order but to vote; and before the leaders could take a look at their lines they were in action again by the prompt roll-call. The Blaine men noted the second ballot with painful interest, as they hoped to receive a large accession to their candidate, and when the result showed that Grant had gained one and that Blaine had lost two there was a visible chill throughout the Blaine ranks. The third ballot was precipitated upon the convention immediately after the second had been announced, and the Blaine men hoped that Ohio or Pennsylvania would signal the doubtful vote to come to the popular leader; but Ohio exhibited no variation, even with Sherman's own delegation divided, and Pennsylvania announced a gain to Grant at the cost of Blaine.

“It was on this ballot that Caleb N. Taylor, of Bucks, started the Harrison boom solitary and alone, but during all the subsequent votes there was no response to it from Indiana. The announcement of 305 for Grant and 282 for Blaine settled all sides down to a wearing contest, and it so continued until sixteen ballots had been cast, without any material change in the lines. So closely was the voting watched that every change of a single vote was understood at once, and the gain or loss of two or three votes by either Grant or Blaine was the signal for applause when the ballot was closed. During the sixteen ballots Grant carried only from 303 to 309 and Blaine from 280 to 285. The only episode that interfered to relieve the monotony of the sameness of voting was when Conkling lost a vote in his delegation. He did not dispute the correctness of the vote returned to him as chairman, but he evidently meant that deserters must uncover themselves. He demanded a call of the roll in open convention, which required each individual delegate to rise and answer for himself, and Senator McCarthy proved to be the missing Grant man who had taken refuge in the Blaine camp. He was vociferously cheered by the galleries when he cast his vote, but Conkling looked on complacently and felt assured that he had stopped further straggling. After the sixth ballot General Harrison rose and moved a recess until 5 P. M., but it was howled down before the question could be put. Later on Drake tried to stop what seemed to be a tedious farce by renewing the motion to adjourn, but he fared no better than Harrison. After eighteen ballots, and when more than five hours had been consumed in casting and counting 755 votes,

almost without variation, Mr. Buchanan, the Sherman chairman of the Mississippi delegation, moved a recess until seven o'clock, and it was carried without serious opposition. Both the Grant and Blaine leaders are seeking alliances with Sherman, and when a Sherman manager proposed a truce, the chief opposing forces were unwilling to antagonize him. An adjournment was then hurriedly carried and the weary crowd filed out to dinner.

“The brief recess was actively employed by leaders of all sides to get possession of the incalculable quantity from the South that followed Sherman. It is known to be made up largely of Swiss guards, and so both leading lines feared that the other might capture them. Both have tried most exclusively to get them into camp, and the air is full of stories not at all creditable to the integrity of either bidders or the doubtful delegates.

“When the hour for the evening session drew near there was no reliable understanding between the Sherman wing and either of the chief belligerents, and both Hale and Conkling had to renew the battle and take the chances of the many accidents which may drift the floating vote to its final destination. As soon as the doors were open the crowd rushed in more impetuously than ever before, and for the first time the mob mastered the excellent police force that has so admirably handled the seething mass of humanity that has crowded in and about the Exposition Building. Those admitted to the distant portions of the hall finally made a dash over the feeble partitions and at once filled all the vacant seats nearest the platform. Once in possession it could not be removed, and those who were too late had to take seats

which present a view of the convention only in the dim distance. Conkling and Garfield came in late, as usual, and received the regulation cheers, much to the amusement of the audience generally, and Hale and Frye were early in their places, still hopeful but evidently not confident of victory.

“President Hoar promptly ordered the nineteenth ballot, and the greatest anxiety was manifested as the States with floating delegates were called. It was expected that the recess would result in some combination in favor of Blaine or Grant, but the ballot failed to reveal any material change, and when the next presented about the same result it became apparent that the battle was to be a protracted one. The ballots were hurried along without anything whatever to relieve the tedious sameness of calling the roll and listening to announcements, which would average just about even all around in any ten ballots. Grant started at his old 305, but Blaine fell down to 279, and on next trial Grant forged ahead to 308, leaving Blaine at 276. Grant then dropped gradually until he got down to 303 and Blaine took a spurt that put him up to 281, but it was evident that the ups and downs between them meant nothing more than stray shots from wandering pickets. The crowded audience was restless. The Grant and Blaine men cheered alternately, as ballots were announced showing slight gains for their favorites. After the twenty-seventh ballot, at 9.30 P. M., Morse, of Massachusetts, anti-Grant, moved to adjourn till ten to-morrow. The *viva voce* was nearly equal, and the chair declared that the ayes appeared to have it; but Conkling bounced to his feet to demand a call of the

roll, which Hale promptly seconded. The motion was then withdrawn, and the session began again.

“The twenty-eighth ballot gave Grant 307, within one of his highest vote, and Blaine 279, being below his average. Mr. Morse, another Massachusetts Edmunds man, then renewed the motion to adjourn, and the chair was about to declare it carried when Conkling rose hastily and demanded a roll-call, which was promptly seconded by the Grant men of Kentucky. The Blaine men were sick of the unequal contest, and Hale, who had joined Conkling half an hour before to oppose adjournment, in order to exhibit pluck, sat still, and the field was quickly marshalled for a suspension of active hostilities.”

The following table shows the result of the day's balloting, the first ballot being given in detail :

STATES.	GRANT.	BLAINE.	SHERMAN.	EDMUNDS.	WINDOM.	WASHBURN.
Alabama.....	16	1	3	..	..	..
Arkansas.....	12	..	..	..	..	..
California.....	..	12	..	..	..	..
Colorado.....	6	..	..	..	..	..
Connecticut.....	..	3	..	2	..	7
Delaware.....	..	6	..	..	..	..
Florida.....	8	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia.....	6	8	8	..	..	..
Illinois.....	24	10	..	..	..	8
Indiana.....	1	26	2	..	..	1
Iowa.....	..	22	..	..	..	..
Kansas.....	4	6	..	..	..	..
Kentucky.....	20	1	3	..	..	..
Louisiana.....	8	2	6	..	..	..
Maine.....	..	14	..	..	..	..
Maryland.....	7	7	2	..	..	..
Massachusetts.....	3	..	2	20	..	1
Carried forward.....	115	118	26	22	..	17

STATES.	GRANT.	BLAINE.	SHERMAN.	EDMUNDS.	WINDOM.	WASHBURNE.
Brought forward.....	115	118	26	22	..	17
Michigan.....	1	21	..	..	..	..
Minnesota.....	..	..	..	..	10	..
Mississippi.....	6	4	6	..	..	..
Missouri.....	29	..	..	..	..	1
Nebraska.....	..	6	..	..	..	..
Nevada.....	..	6	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire.....	..	10	..	..	..	..
New Jersey.....	..	16	..	..	..	2
New York.....	51	17	2	..	..	..
North Carolina.....	6	..	14	..	..	..
Ohio.....	..	9	34	1	..	..
Oregon.....	..	6	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania.....	32	23	3	..	..	..
Rhode Island.....	..	8	..	..	..	..
South Carolina.....	13	..	1	..	..	..
Tennessee.....	16	6	1	1	..	..
Texas.....	11	2	2	..	..	1
Vermont.....	..	..	..	10	..	..
Virginia.....	18	3	1	..	..	..
West Virginia.....	1	8	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin.....	1	7	3	..	..	9
Arizona.....	..	2	..	..	..	..
Dakota.....	1	1	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia.....	1	1	..	..	..	..
Idaho.....	..	2	..	..	..	..
Montana.....	..	2	..	..	..	..
New Mexico.....	..	2	..	..	..	..
Utah.....	1	1	..	..	..	..
Washington.....	1	1	..	..	..	..
Wyoming.....	1	1	..	..	..	..
Total.....	304	284	93	34	10	30

	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.	8th.	9th.	10th.
Grant.....	305	305	305	305	305	305	306	308	305
Blaine.....	282	282	281	281	281	281	284	282	282
Sherman.....	94	93	95	95	95	94	91	90	92
Edmunds.....	32	32	32	32	31	32	31	31	31
Washburne.....	31	31	30	30	31	31	32	32	32
Windom.....	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Garfield.....	..	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2
Harrison.....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

	11th.	12th.	13th.	14th.	15th.	16th.	17th.	18th.	19th.
Grant.....	306	304	305	305	308	306	303	305	305
Blaine.....	281	283	285	285	281	283	284	283	279
Sherman.....	92	92	89	89	88	88	90	91	96
Edmunds.....	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31
Washburne....	32	33	32	35	36	36	36	35	32
Windom.....	11	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Garfield.....	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hartranft.....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Hayes.....	1	1	..	..	....	..	..	..	..
McCrary.....	..	..	1	..	....	..	..	..	..
Davis.....	..	..	..	..	....	..	1	..	..

	20th.	21st.	22d.	23d.	24th.	25th.	26th.	27th.	28th.
Grant.....	308	305	305	304	305	302	303	306	307
Blaine.....	276	276	275	275	279	281	280	277	279
Sherman.....	93	96	97	97	93	94	93	93	91
Edmunds.....	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31
Washburne....	35	35	35	36	35	35	36	36	35
Windom.....	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Garfield.....	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Hartranft.....	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..

The adjournment was carried over Grant's steady 303, and the battle was transferred again to the lobbies of the Chicago hotels.

The convention met again at eleven o'clock on the morning of June 8th. After the opening prayer the call of the States was ordered for the twenty-ninth ballot for President. There was a disturbance at the outset over the vote of Alabama. It was announced by the chairman, George Turner, as it had been cast all day yesterday; but it appeared that Alexander, one of the Grant delegates, was not in the hall, but had asked the chairman to cast his vote. Objection being made the roll of individual delegates was called, and as no alternate appeared, Grant lost one vote. It required a quarter of an hour to settle this dispute, and there was no further epi-

sode until Massachusetts was reached, when the nineteen Edmunds votes of yesterday were turned over to Sherman and created some excitement as being an indication, though slight, that the convention might break. The split in the Minnesota vote following immediately after, and giving Blaine three of the Windom delegates, was the signal for a renewal of the excitement, and considerable applause followed. A little farther on the result showed that Grant had got the Sherman votes in Mississippi, but there was nothing in the ballot to indicate that any such missionary work had been done during the night as to give prompt settlement to the great controversy. During this call Virginia and West Virginia both insisted upon an individual call, and it transpired that the Sherman delegate from West Virginia who was yesterday missing was on hand. The result of the ballot was loudly cheered by Ohio people and the Sherman men in general. It was getting their favorite ahead. The ballot resulted in 305 votes for Grant, 278 for Blaine, 116 for Sherman, 12 for Edmunds, 35 for Washburne, 7 for Windom, and 2 for Garfield.

“There were some indications as the thirtieth ballot progressed that the lesser candidates were giving way. Blaine took two of Washburne’s Illinois votes, and Blaine got three more of the Windom votes from Minnesota, making six of that lot for him. Great amusement was created toward the close of this ballot by the announcement of one vote for Gen. Phil Sheridan in Wyoming. Sheridan was on the stage, near the chair, and when he was a moment after discovered by the people, a shout went up from all over the house, and Sheridan finally arose and

said that he was very much obliged, but he couldn't take the nomination unless he were permitted to turn it over to his best friend. The galleries saw the point of this, since Sheridan's best friend is Grant, and all the Grant delegates made the best of the opportunity by an outburst of enthusiasm. The chair also detected the point, and said that while the distinguished soldier had been given permission to interrupt the order of the convention it would be granted no one else.

“On the thirty-first ballot two more of the Indiana votes left Blaine and went to Washburne. The Indiana men never were very stiff for Blaine, and have been waiting a chance to get away to somebody else. On this ballot also Thompson, of the Pennsylvania delegation, left Garfield and went to Grant, giving the third-termers 35 votes in that delegation. Caleb Taylor had been got around to Blaine, while Grier was holding the Garfield boom level, although he was entirely alone in his vote for the Ohio man. New Mexico kept up the good-nature of the galleries on this ballot by giving Conkling one vote. The result of the ballot was inspiring to the Grant men, and Conkling did his share of the cheering. Five more of Blaine's Indiana votes got away on the succeeding ballot, going to swell the Washburne column. Farther down the list he lost two from Wisconsin in the same way, and a cloud came over the Blaine side of the house. There was a hurried conference of the Maine senator's leaders in the aisle near where the Maine delegates sat, and it was a thoroughly dispirited crowd when the ballot was announced showing Grant's highest and Blaine's lowest. There was no ignoring the fact that the Grant lines

could not be broken, and that the Blaine lines were at this time wavering. It was apparent the convention was on the edge of a break. The thirty-third ballot, which was finished at half-past twelve, was without exciting event, and with the exception of a little cheer when the Sherman votes of Alabama were cast for Blaine, was monotonous. About this time the Blaine managers began to get their men back into the lines, and a few scattering delegates, who were beginning to fear the solidity of the Grant column, turned in from their dark horses to Blaine. They didn't want Blaine, but they were not willing to see him crowded entirely off the track while Grant hung on.

“The close of the thirty-fourth ballot was marked by excitement, growing out of Wisconsin's 16 votes for Garfield. It was the beginning of the end. To make up this bunch, Washburne, Blaine, and Sherman had been drawn upon. This ballot brought Grant's vote up to 312, and served to arouse the Grant enthusiasm. Garfield here arose and addressed the chair. The chairman inquired for what purpose the gentleman rose. ‘To a question of order,’ said Garfield. ‘The gentleman will state it,’ said the chair.

“‘I challenge,’ said Mr. Garfield, ‘the correctness of the announcement that contains votes for me. No man has a right, without the consent of the person voted for, to have his name announced and voted for in this convention. Such consent I have not given.’

“This was overruled by the chairman amidst laughter against Garfield, who had made the point on the vote cast for him by Wisconsin.

“The thirty-fifth was the most interesting ballot of the day so far. The call was quick, people had begun to show better spirits, and when the 27 Indianians, who had been looking around for some way out, cast themselves for Garfield, there was a deafening shout, and Garfield’s seat was immediately surrounded. Maryland followed with four for the Ohio dark horse, and Wisconsin for a second time turned in sixteen of her votes solid for him. It was apparent that the Blaine movement had broken up, and the friends of Grant and Garfield had the cheering to themselves at the end of this ballot.

“The call of the States for the thirty-sixth ballot began amidst considerable excitement. Everybody saw that Blaine was now out of the way, and it was a matter of beating Grant so far as the opposition was concerned. It was evident, too, that it would have to be done with Garfield, and Connecticut led off on this ballot with 11 votes for him. The most of the Washburne vote of Illinois followed this, and when Indiana was called, General Harrison cast 29 of her 30 votes for Garfield. The storm at this point broke. The people rose up and gave one tremendous cheer, and hats and handkerchiefs were tossed high, as they had so often been before. The confusion had not fairly subsided when Iowa followed with 22 votes for Garfield, and the outburst was renewed and gained in force with every fresh start. A little farther down Maine cast her 14 votes for the Ohio man, and the cheering was greater than ever. The confusion was so great that it was almost impossible to go on with the call. The delegations of Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, and Mississippi each insisted upon an individual roll-call,

and the Blaine and Sherman votes nearly all turned up for Garfield. Conkling was dodging about a good deal at this time, but it dawned upon the Grant men that all was up with them. They were well disciplined, however, and hung together all the way down the call. It was getting down to Pennsylvania. Cameron sat imperturbable in the midst of his delegates, and was repeatedly urged to cast the solid Pennsylvania delegation for Blaine on this ballot. This would have prevented the nomination of Garfield on that ballot, at least, and might have stayed the Garfield cyclone by getting Blaine back on the track; but Cameron at this time would not acknowledge that Garfield could go through as he did go.

“Ohio was finally called. The delegation had been thrown into confusion, and it was some time in getting around, but it finally turned up with forty-three for Garfield, the missing delegate being Garfield himself. The convention relapsed into cheers again, but recovered in a moment to hear General Beaver announce the Pennsylvania vote as thirty-seven for Grant, twenty-one for Garfield. Gordon had swung around to Grant, and Hays, who had voted for Blaine, felt himself released when Maine virtually put him out of the field, and went with the Grant people. The Grant men got in a little cheer here, but it was of short life. As the call went on, as well as it could in the confusion, the Blaine delegates wheeled into line for Garfield. Vermont was wildly cheered when the ten Edmunds votes swung around, and Wisconsin's eighteen following shortly after, gave the man from Ohio a majority of the whole number.

“The thousands had kept tally and knew this. There

was a momentary hush, as if the seven or eight thousand people were taking breath, and then the storm burst, and while the cheering went on the banners of the several States were borne to the place where Ohio's delegation sat, Garfield in the midst of them, and there was a scene almost equal to that of midnight on Friday. The band was playing 'The Battle-Cry of Freedom,' at the lower end of the hall, and when the cheering subsided for a moment, the air was taken up and sung in chorus by thousands of voices. Everywhere flags were waving, and on the outside of the building cannon were booming and thousands were cheering. This went on for a quarter of an hour, during which time Conkling sat in his place at the head of his delegation without show of emotion of any sort. Efforts were made to get Garfield out, but he remained hidden in the midst of his Ohio friends.

"After Wisconsin the call of the Territories had little interest, and was conducted in the midst of the greatest confusion. The call for the first time was verified by a re-reading of the votes, and at the announcement of the result there was another outburst. The changes in the vote by which the nomination was reached are shown in the following table :

	29th.	30th.	31st.	32d.	33d.	34th.	35th.	36th.
Grant.....	305	306	308	309	309	312	313	306
Blaine.....	278	279	276	270	276	275	257	42
Sherman.....	116	120	119	117	110	107	99	3
Edmunds.....	12	11	11	11	11	11	11	..
Washburne.....	35	33	31	44	44	30	23	5
Windom.....	7	4	3	3	4	4	3	..
Garfield.....	2	2	1	1	1	17	50	399
Sheridan.....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Conkling.....	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..

“After the announcement the band played the ‘Conquering Hero,’ and the people again stood upon the benches and hurraed and yelled in the same old way. In the midst of this the tall form of Logan rose up, and he sought to be heard. Conkling was standing in the aisle, asking the attention of the chair. As soon as order was restored, Conkling was recognized, and in a husky voice, sadly in contrast with his tones of the past five days, asked to have the nomination of Garfield made unanimous. He was loudly cheered. His speech was as follows :

“‘Mr. Chairman : James A. Garfield, of Ohio, having received a majority of all the votes cast, I rise to move that he be unanimously presented as the nominee of the convention. The chair, under the rules, anticipated me, but being on my feet I avail myself of the opportunity to congratulate the Republican party of the nation on the good-natured and well-tempered disposition which has distinguished this animated convention. [Cries of ‘Louder!’ from the galleries.] I should like to speak louder, but having sat here under a cold wind I find myself unable to do so. I was about to say, Mr. Chairman, that I trust that the zeal, the fervor, and now the unanimity of the scenes of the convention will be transplanted to the field of the country, and that all of us who have borne a part against each other will be found with equal zeal bearing the banners and carrying the lances of the Republican party into the ranks of the enemy.’ [Applause.]

“Conkling was followed by Logan, who spoke in the midst of calls for Garfield, but Garfield could not be

induced to show himself, and Logan got a chance finally to go on with a speech after the manner of Conkling. He said:

“Gentlemen of the Convention: We are to be congratulated at having arrived at a conclusion in respect to presenting the name of a candidate to be the standard-bearer of the Republican party for President of the United States in union and harmony with each other. Whatever may have transpired in this convention that may have produced feelings of annoyance will be, I hope, considered as a matter of the past. I, with the friends of one of the grandest men on the face of the earth, stood here to fight a friendly battle for his nomination, but this convention has chosen another leader, and the men who stood by Grant will be seen in the front of the contest for Mr. Garfield. [Cheers.] We will go forward in the contest, not with tied hands, not with sealed lips, not with bridled tongues, but to speak the truth in favor of the grandest party that has ever been organized in this country, to maintain its principles, to uphold its power, to preserve its ascendancy, and my judgment is that, with the leader whom you have chosen, victory will perch on our banners. [Cheers.] As one of the Republicans from Illinois I second the nomination of James A. Garfield, and hope it will be made unanimous.’ [Cheers.]

“After this, General Beaver, from the head of the Pennsylvania delegation, was heard. He referred to Pennsylvania as having first put Garfield in nomination, and stood by him with one vote when there were no others for him, and he promised the largest majority that

Pennsylvania has given at a Presidential election in recent years. Here is his speech :

“‘The State of Pennsylvania having had the honor of first nominating in this convention the gentleman who has been chosen as the standard-bearer of the Republican party in the approaching national contest, I rise to second the motion which has been made to make the nomination unanimous, and to assure this convention and the people of the country that Pennsylvania is heartily in accord with the nomination [cheers]; that she gives her full concurrence to it, and that this country may expect from her the greatest majority that has been given for a Presidential candidate in many years.’

“Mr. Hale, of Maine, said: ‘Standing here to return our heartfelt thanks to the many men in this convention who have aided us in the fight that we made for the Senator from Maine, and speaking for them here, as I know that I do, I say this most heartily. We have not got the man whom we hoped to nominate when we came here, but we have got a man in whom we have the greatest and most marked confidence. The nominee of this convention is no new or untried man, and in that respect he is no “dark horse.” When he came here, representing his State in the front of his delegation and was seen here every man knew him, because of his record; and because of that and because of our faith in him, and because we were, in the emergency, glad to help make him the candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States,—because, I say, of these things, I shall stand here to pledge the Maine

forces in this convention to earnest effort from now until the ides of November to help carry him to the Presidential chair.' [Cheers.]

“Then Hale brought all the Blaine folks into this apparent love-feast. A Texas delegate, one of those old Whigs who don't intend to cut their hair until Henry Clay is elected President, also agreed to the candidate. But he did go so far as to promise the vote of Texas to him. General Harrison, who said he was the only defeated candidate for President on the floor, because his misguided friend from Pennsylvania, meaning Caleb Taylor, did not have staying powers, promised Indiana to Garfield. At this time there were immense crowds in every part of the hall, particularly on the stage and the press platform, and when the nomination was made unanimous, people couldn't be made to keep still. Some of those in a hurry wanted to go right on with the nomination, but General Harrison, at about half-past two, got a recess till five o'clock, as he said, for consultation.”

The convention reassembled in the afternoon. The nomination of a candidate for Vice-President of the United States was the business on hand.

California presented E. B. Washburne; Connecticut brought out ex-Governor Jewell; Florida handed in the name of Judge Settle; Tennessee urged Horace Maynard. But these attracted little attention, and it was not until General Woodford, of New York, arose and nominated Chester A. Arthur, that the convention began to wake up.

A ballot was finally reached, the galleries cheering every mention of Washburne's name. The result of the

ballot was so generally foreseen that no particular concern was manifested over the result. There was some cheering, but the enthusiasm of this extraordinary convention had about worn out. The ballot stood: Arthur, 468; Washburne, 19; Maynard, 30; Jewell, 44; Bruce, 8; Woodford, 1; Davis, 2. The Pennsylvania vote was given—47 to Arthur, 11 to Washburne. The nomination of Arthur was made unanimous on motion of California, and then the convention fell to passing a lot of resolutions of compliment to everybody, after which a committee of one from each State, with Senator Hoar for chairman, was appointed to notify the candidates of their nomination. Filley, of Missouri, then, explaining that life is short, got in a motion to adjourn, which was adopted, and people dispersed for good.

The following is the Platform, or Declaration of Principles, adopted by the Convention:

“The Republican party in National Convention assembled, at the end of twenty years since the Federal Government was first committed to its charge, submits to the people of the United States this brief report of its administration. It suppressed rebellion, which had armed nearly a million of men to subvert the national authority. It reconstructed the union of the States, with freedom instead of slavery as its corner-stone. It transformed four million human beings from the likeness of things to the rank of citizens. It relieved Congress from the infamous work of hunting fugitive slaves, and charged it to see that slavery does not exist. It has raised the value of our currency from thirty-eight per cent. to the par of gold. It has restored upon a solid basis payment in coin for all

the national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country. It has lifted the care of the nation from the point from where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86 to that where 4 per cent. bonds are eagerly sought at a premium under its administration; railways have increased from 31,000 miles in 1860 to more than 82,000 miles in 1879; our foreign trade has increased from \$700,000,000 to \$1,150,000,000 in the same time, and our exports, which were \$20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860, were \$264,000,000 more than our imports in 1879. Without resorting to loans it has, since the war closed, defrayed the ordinary expenses of government, besides the accruing interest on the public debt, and dispersed annually more than \$30,000,000 for soldiers' pensions. It has paid \$888,000,000 of the public debt, and by refunding the balance at lower rates has reduced the annual interest charges from nearly \$151,000,000 to less than \$89,000,000. All the industries of the country have revived, labor is in demand, wages have increased, and throughout the entire country there is evidence of a coming prosperity greater than we have ever enjoyed. Upon this record the Republican party asks for the continued confidence and support of the people, and this convention submits for their approval the following statements of the principle and purposes which will continue to guide and inspire its efforts:

“*First.* We affirm that the work of the last twenty-one years has been such as to commend itself to the favor of the nation, and that the fruits of the costly victory which we have achieved through immense difficulties

should be preserved ; after that the peace regained should be cherished ; that the dissevered Union now happily restored should be perpetuated, and that the liberty secured to this generation should be transmitted undiminished to future generations ; that the order established and the credit acquired should never be impaired ; that the pensions promised should be extinguished by the full payment of every dollar thereof ; that the reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce, already so great, should be steadily encouraged.

“ *Second.* The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law and not a mere contract. Out of confederated States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation while others are denied to the States, but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National and not by the State tribunals.

“ *Third.* The work of popular education is left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional duty. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence of the several States, and the destiny of the nation must not be guided by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all.

“ *Fourth.* The Constitution wisely forbids Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion, but it is idle to hope that the nation can be protected against the influence of sectarianism while each State is exposed to its domination. We therefore recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to lay the same prohibition upon the legislature of each State and to for-

bid the appropriation of public funds to the support of sectarian schools.

“*Fifth.* We affirm the belief, avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor. That no further grant of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation; that slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories. That everywhere the protection accorded to citizens of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and that we esteem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our watercourses and harbors, but that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease; that the obligations of the Republic to the men who preserved its integrity in the hour of battle are undiminished by the lapse of fifteen years since their final victory; to do them perpetual honor is and shall forever be the grateful privilege and sacred duty of the American people.

“*Sixth.* Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with Congress, or with the United States and its treaty-making power, the Republican party, regarding the unrestricted emigration of Chinese as an evil of great magnitude, invoke the exercise of those powers to restrain and limit that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable provisions as will produce that result.

“*Seventh.* That the purity and patriotism which characterize the earlier career of Rutherford B. Hayes in peace and war, and which guided the thoughts of our im-

mediate predecessors to him for a Presidential candidate have continued to inspire him in his career as Chief Executive, and that history will accord to his administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and will honor his interpositions between the people and proposed partisan laws.

“*Eighth.* We charge upon the Democratic party the habitual sacrifice of patriotism and justice to a supreme and insatiable lust of office and patronage ; that to obtain possession of the National and State Governments and the control of place and position they have obstructed all effort to promote the purity and to conserve the freedom of suffrage, and have devised fraudulent certifications and returns, have labored to unseat lawfully elected members of Congress to secure at all hazards the vote of a majority of the States in the House of Representatives ; have endeavored to occupy by force and fraud the places of trust given to others by the people of Maine, and rescued by the courage in action of Maine’s patriotic sons ; have by methods vicious in principle and tyrannical in practice attached partisan legislation to bills upon whose passage the very movements of government depend ; have crushed the rights of individuals, have advocated the principle and sought the favor of rebellion against the nation, and have endeavored to obliterate the sacred memories of the war and to overcome its inestimable valuable results of nationality, personal freedom, and individual equality. The equal, steady, and complete enforcement of laws and the protection of all our citizens in the enjoyment of all privileges and communities guaranteed by the Constitution

are the first duties of the nation. The dangers of a solid South can only be averted by a faithful performance of every promise which the nation has made to the citizens; the execution of the laws and the punishment of all those who violate them are the only safe methods by which an enduring peace can be secured and genuine prosperity established throughout the South. Whatever promises the nation makes the nation must perform, and the nation cannot with safety delegate this duty to the States. The solid South must be divided by the powerful agencies of the ballot, and all opinions must there find free expression, and to this end the honest voters must be protected against terrorism, violence, and fraud. And we affirm it to be the duty and the purpose of the Republican party to use every legitimate means to restore all the States of this Union to the most perfect harmony as may be practicable; and we submit to the practical, sensible people of the United States to say whether it would not be dangerous to the dearest interests of our country at this time to surrender the administration of the National Government to a party which seeks to overthrow the existing policy under which we are so prosperous, and thus bring distrust and confusion where there is now order, confidence, and hope."

The following resolution was added to the platform:

"The Republican party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last national convention of respect for the constitutional rules governing appointment to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform in the civil service shall be thorough, radical, and complete. To that end it demands the co-operation of

the legislative with the executive departments of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service."

The correspondent of the New York *Tribune* wrote as follows concerning the scene attending the nomination of General Garfield :

"When General Harrison mounted on his chair and called out that Indiana, out of 30 votes, gave 29 for Garfield, neither the convention nor the galleries could contain themselves any longer. There was a universal uproar; half the convention rose to its feet. Leaders of all factions ran hurriedly hither and thither through the convention; and, while the building was resounding with loud cheers for Garfield, there was a cluster of excited delegates about the general himself, who, sat quiet and cool in his ordinary place at the end of one of the rows of seats in the Ohio delegation, having his own seat in the middle aisle near the very rear of the convention.

"He wore the white badge of an Ohio delegate on his coat, and held his massive head steadily immovable. But for an appearance of extra resoluteness on his face, as that of a man who was repressing internal excitement, he might have been supposed to have as little interest in the proceedings as any other delegate on the floor of the convention. He was, in fact, going through one of the most extraordinary experiences ever given to an American citizen. He was being struck by Presidential lightning while sitting in the body which was to nominate him. He was being nominated for Presi-

dent at half-past one o'clock in the afternoon, when he could hardly have dreamed of such a thing at nine o'clock in the morning.

“There has been no such dramatic incident in politics, for a great many years at least, except possibly the nomination of Horatio Seymour in 1868. Entirely apart from all political considerations, it was an extraordinary and impressive incident to see this quiet man suddenly wheeled by a popular sentiment into the position of standard-bearer to the great Republican party, and in all probability into the Presidency itself, with its great power and world-wide fame. All this while the crowd had been cheering, and the elements of the convention were dissolving and crystallizing in an instant of time.

“Where the Sherman vote was going, whether simply by force of drifting or not, was apparent enough when a North Carolina delegate seized the banner of his State and waved it towards the Ohio delegation, all of whom were on their feet. The situation was indeed peculiar. General Garfield had entered the convention as the loyal representative of Secretary Sherman, who was still a candidate. The Ohio delegation, most of whom were warm friends of both men, were in honor bound to support Mr. Sherman so long as there was any possibility of his nomination. General Garfield had, like a truthful and honorable gentleman, set his face from the first against all suggestions that he should become a candidate, feeling that any yielding to such suggestions would be rankly disloyal to the friend he had come to support. Now he was being forced into the field in spite of himself, and the indications were that his own vote

would soon surpass that of his candidate. The Ohio delegation were seen to be in anxious, flurried consultation about General Garfield's chair, ex-Governor Denison, Congressman Butterworth, and Major Bickham being prominent in the group.

“Nothing seemed to come of it, however, and when the crowd had been quieted down the secretary was again in his place, ready to resume the roll-call. When he called ‘Iowa’ every ear was strained to hear the reply, which had to travel from the farthest limit of the body of delegates. The 22 votes of that State had been cast on every ballot for James G. Blaine, and if these votes should be cast for Garfield, it would prove that the instantaneous fusion of the anti-Grant elements of the convention was complete. When the chairman of the delegation called out that Iowa cast 22 votes for James A. Garfield, a wild storm of cheering broke out, which after a few moments died away, while there was a renewal of the hasty and whispered consultation among the Ohio delegates about General Garfield's chair. Suddenly the Ohio delegation broke out in cries and applause, and an electric cheer spread from them as a centre in an instant all over the convention, telling without any need of words that Ohio's new candidate had replaced the old; that Secretary Sherman had been withdrawn, and that, with the full consent of his friends, Garfield was a candidate.

“From this time the votes split off between Grant and Garfield almost without exception, the roll-call proceeding amid the growing exultation of the anti-Grant men, who thought they saw victory before them. Kan-

sas gave its 6 Blaine votes to Garfield, Grant's 4 votes standing firm. In Kentucky the Blaine votes came to Garfield. Every Garfield vote now was applauded, while Mr. Conkling watched the secretary with a cold eye. Senator Kellogg cast the vote of Louisiana, 8 for Garfield 8 for Grant. When Maine was called, Mr. Hale arose, looking sad, to be sure, but still with his accustomed air of quiet resolution, and cast those 14 votes, that represented so much loyal affection for James G. Blaine, for James A. Garfield, of Ohio. There was a great cheer at this for the men from Maine, with many expressions of sympathy for their keen disappointment passing through the throng. Almost the whole body of the convention was up hurrahing at the rate of three times three a minute. Garfield was nominated."

CHAPTER XI.

GENERAL GARFIELD SINCE THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

The Nomination unsought by General Garfield—Congratulatory Telegrams—How the News was received in Congress—Scene in the House—General Garfield notified of his Nomination—His Reply—Returns Home—Reception at Cleveland—General Garfield presides at the Reunion of Hiram College—His Speech on that Occasion—A Glance at the Past—Reception at Mentor—Visit to Painesville—General Garfield addresses his Neighbors—Sunday at Home—General Garfield returns to Washington City—His Journey—A Serenade at Washington—Speech of General Garfield—Adjournment of Congress—Fourth of July Speech at Painesville—General Garfield's Letter accepting the Nomination for the Presidency—Personal Characteristics—General Garfield's Washington Home—The Farm at Mentor—The Garfield Family.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S nomination for the Presidency had come to him entirely unsought. He had loyally supported the claims of Secretary Sherman to the office, and had discountenanced all attempts to put himself forward as a candidate for the high honor. The convention, however, had seen fit to nominate him in spite of his reluctance. The nomination gave great satisfaction throughout the country, and it was universally admitted that the choice of the convention was the best that could have been made.

The following telegrams were received by General Garfield immediately after the nomination was made :

“EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, June 8.

“General James A. GARFIELD:—You will receive no heartier congratulation to-day than mine. This both for your own and your country’s sake. “R. B. HAYES.”

“WASHINGTON, D. C.

“Hon. James A. GARFIELD:—Accept my hearty congratulation. The country is to be congratulated, as well as yourself. “C. SCHURZ.”

Dispatches to like effect were also received from other members of the Cabinet.

“WASHINGTON, June 8.

“Hon. James A. GARFIELD, Chicago:—I congratulate you with all my heart upon your nomination as President of the United States. You have saved the Republican party and the country from a great peril and assured the continued success of Republican principles.

“JOHN SHERMAN.”

“WASHINGTON, Tuesday—1.45 P. M.

“Hon. James A. GARFIELD, Chicago:—Maine’s vote, this moment cast for you, goes with my hearty concurrence. I hope it will aid in securing your nomination and assuring victory to the Republican party.

“JAMES G. BLAINE.”

General Garfield replied as follows :

“CHICAGO, June 8.

“Hon. J. G. BLAINE, Washington:—Accept my thanks for your generous despatch. “JAMES A. GARFIELD.”

The scene in the House of Representatives, Washington, on receipt of the news of Gen. Garfield's nomination, is thus described in the Associated Press despatches :

“The House passed a whole batch of private bills to-day. Finally a public-building bill was called up and objected to, whereupon Mr. Hooker emphatically declared his intention of objecting to every proposition presented. A noisy discussion ensued, and the confusion was increased by the Chicago despatches which were coming in announcing the large additions to Garfield's vote. Order was only secured when Blackburn (Kentucky) presented the report of the conference committee on the post-office appropriation bill, which report was agreed to. Mr. Hooker adhered to his intention of objecting to every proposition, and a motion was made to adjourn. During the calling of the roll there was a great deal of excitement shown by the members over the convention news, and when Garfield's name was called it was greeted with applause on both the Republican and Democratic side of the chamber.

“The announcement which came in soon afterward that Garfield was nominated was received with loud cheers and applause from the members who had assembled in the lobby back of the Speaker's desk, and the confusion was so great that the roll-call was interrupted. Members gathered in groups and discussed the nomination of Garfield, which appeared to meet with almost universal approval from the Republicans, and was conceded by the Democrats to be a strong one. The second call of Garfield's name was the signal for a burst of applause from the Republicans.

“The motion was finally carried, and accordingly, the House at 2.30 adjourned. Cheers for Garfield were then given, while cries of ‘Speech from Hawley’ and ‘Hawley for Vice-President’ went up, but that gentleman did not respond.

“Mr. Robeson.—I move that General Hawley take the chair. This was carried unanimously amid loud cheers. When Hawley took the chair the House presented a curious sight. Every chair was occupied, the seats of the absent members being filled by spectators who, upon the adjournment, had crowded into the hall, while in the rear of the seats were groups of men evidently full of excitement.

“Mr. Hawley, on taking the chair, said: I beg leave to say that we occupy this floor with the kind consent of our friends on the right, who will have their opportunity by-and-bye. [Laughter. Cries of ‘Speech! Speech!’]

“Mr. Hawley.—I have no speech to make. The nomination made at Chicago is its own speech for every Republican of this House, and our personal good-will goes with our old friend and associate, General Garfield. [Applause.] I have no doubt from what I have seen and heard, that this event—this consummation—is in the very highest degree satisfactory to every Republican here, whatever may have been his personal preference. [Applause.] We have been warmly divided in the past; we will be much more warmly united in the future. [Loud applause.] I think one result will be—I am supposing that there are no Democrats here—to compel an excellent nomination on the other side, so that the country we all love will be certain of a good President for

the next four years, personally, whatever his political opinions may be." (Loud applause, in which the Democrats joined.)

Mr. Robeson was loudly called. In response, that gentleman said: "As members of the American Congress—

"A Democrat.—Both sides?"

"Mr. Robeson, continuing.—Both sides. I think we have a right to congratulate the whole country that a man whom we all know to be a man of character and capacity beyond impeachment, has been nominated by one of the great political parties for the highest office in the gift of the people. [Applause.] Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I speak in acknowledgment in behalf of the House of Representatives that one of our number, conspicuous before the people on account of his services on this floor, has been selected as the standard-bearer of the great political party to which I belong. That is a sentiment which affects neither the politics nor the feelings of anybody, and I ask everybody within the reach of my voice to join me in giving three cheers for the candidate selected from our body as the candidate of a great party. [The Republicans rose and gave the three cheers with a will, but the Democrats, though joining in the cheering, retained their seats.] I move, Mr. Chairman, that a committee be appointed, and I suggest as its chairman the oldest member of the House, Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania, to send by telegraph our congratulations to our fellow-Congressman on his nomination. [Applause.] Cries then went up for 'Kelley,' and Chairman Hawley stated that Mr. Kelley would have occupied the chair, but that he had not been present."

“ Mr. Kelley.—I have been in that chair but once, though I have been here nineteen years, and then I felt so like a fool that I never got into it again. [Laughter.] I thank the gentleman from New Jersey (Robeson) and his associates on this floor for having delegated to me the chairmanship of the committee to which has been confided so grateful a duty. I beg leave to inform the chairman and the House that, taking advantage of circumstances, I slipped out when Garfield was at 338 and sent the following telegram : ‘ Accept congratulations and pledge of earnest support.’ [Applause.] I rejoice most heartily in this nomination. General Garfield is a man of rare force of character, of wide attainments, of great simplicity, and a man who adheres as firmly as a true party man even may to his personal convictions ; and our friends on the other side, in the dejection which now overcomes them while a bad nomination for them is possible, will find satisfaction in knowing that they know the man to be one who will administer the government faithfully, fairly, and patriotically after we shall have inaugurated him.” (Applause.)

The chair appointed Kelley, Robeson, Browne, Martin (N. C.), Page, Richardson (N. Y.), and Henderson (Ill.) as the committee to send a congratulatory telegram to Garfield.

Mr. Richardson was appointed at the suggestion of Mr. Voorhees (N. Y.), who was unwilling that the great State of New York should not be represented on the committee, and Henderson at the suggestion of Cannon (Ill.), who thought that Illinois, “ the third State—always Republican,” should be represented.

The meeting then, after giving three more cheers for Garfield, adjourned.

The following is the full text of the telegram immediately sent to General Garfield :

“ WASHINGTON, June 8, 1880.

“ To General J. A. GARFIELD, Chicago :—“ Under instruction of your Congressional associates, assembled in the hall of the House of Representatives, General Hawley in the chair, we congratulate you on your nomination as the candidate of the great Republican party for the Presidency of the United States.

“ W. D. KELLEY,	GEO. M. ROBESON,
THOS. M. BROWNE,	JOSEPH J. MARTIN,“
HORACE F. PAGE,	D. P. RICHARDSON,
THOMAS J. HENDERSON.”	

The convention appointed a committee to wait upon General Garfield and inform him of his nomination. This committee waited upon him at his rooms at the Grand Pacific Hotel, on the evening of the 8th of June. It was headed by Senator Hoar, the chairman of the convention.

“ General Garfield,” said Mr. Hoar, “ the gentlemen present are appointed by the National Republican Convention, representatives of every State in the Union, who have been directed to convey to you the formal ceremonial notice of your nomination as the Republican candidate for the office of President of the United States. It is known to you that the convention which has made this nomination assembled divided in opinion and in council in regard to the candidate. It may not be known to you

with what unanimity of pleasure and of hopes the convention has received the result which it has reached. You represent not only the distinctive principles and opinion of the Republican party, but you represent also its unity, and in the name of every State in the Union represented on the committee, I convey to you the assurance of the cordial support of the Republican party of these States at the coming election."

General Garfield replied: "Mr. President and Gentlemen: I assure you that the information you have officially given me brings the sense of very grave responsibility, and especially so in view of the fact that I was a member of your body, a fact which could not have been so with propriety had I had the slightest expectation that my own name would be connected with the nomination for the office. I have felt with you great solicitude regarding the situation of our party during the struggle, but believing that you are correct in assuring me that substantial unity has been reached in the conclusion, it gives me gratification far greater than any personal pleasure your announcement can bring. I accept the trust committed to my hands. As to the work of our party, as to the character of the campaign to be entered upon, I will take an early occasion to reply more fully than I can properly do now. I thank you for the assurances of confidence and esteem and unity which you have presented me with, and shall hope that we may see our future as promising as are the indications of to-night."

General Garfield left Chicago by the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad, on the morning of June 9th. Cleveland was reached about 8.30 in the evening. The

journey was an unbroken ovation, General Garfield being received at all the points on the line by large and enthusiastic crowds. Cleveland was ablaze with enthusiasm. After a rousing welcome at the depot, General Garfield was conveyed to the Kennard House as quickly as possible, where speeches were made from the balcony by Governor Foster, General Ed. S. Meyer, and Judge P. F. Young. General Garfield said :

“Fellow Citizens of my Native County and of my State: I thank you for this remarkable demonstration of your good-will and enthusiasm on this occasion. I cannot at this time proceed upon any speech. All that I have to say is, that I know that all this demonstration means your gladness of the unity and harmony and good feeling of a great political party, and in part your good feeling toward a neighbor, an old friend. For all of these reasons I thank you, and bid you good night.”

There was great applause and cheers.

The 10th of June was passed pleasantly at Cleveland, and on the 11th, General Garfield presided at the reunion of Hiram College. The trains that arrived at Hiram were crowded to overflowing with people, and the enthusiasm for the general completely overshadowed the interest in any of the proceedings where he was not the central figure. The Presidential candidate received in the morning a number of congratulatory and business telegrams and letters, some of the more important of which he answered. He did not attend the early forenoon society gathering, but at half-past ten o'clock, with Dr. J. P. Robeson, Captain C. E. Henry, President B. A. Hinsdale, of Hiram College, and Mr. William Robeson—all

old friends—he entered the Reunion Hall. There were loud cheers as the general assumed his place on the platform. Prayer was offered by the Rev. J. Knight, of Wilmington, Ohio, and President Hinsdale arose and introduced General Garfield as chairman, with explanatory remarks as to why it had been arranged to have the reunion. The preparations, Mr. Hinsdale said, were made before the nomination of General Garfield, and he had accepted an invitation to preside over the reunion meeting two months ago. On taking the chair, General Garfield was greeted with loud applause. He said :

“ Mr. President and fellow-citizens : I have been so many years accustomed to visit you that it would be entirely unbecoming in me to be the cause of disorder and disturbance. I am here, first, because I promised to be here, and second, because I greatly desire to be here, and I will not interfere with the course of your proposed programme. Certainly not at this time, but will begin immediately by introducing to you the gentleman who was to deliver the regular address of the reunion, the Rev. J. M. Atwater, once a student in this place, and still later the president of the college, and now a distinguished minister.”

The address of Mr. Atwater related to college matters, and was well received. At the close, General Garfield made a brief speech complimenting the previous addresses and referring to the past history of the college. The Rev. A. S. Hayden then spoke, after which General Garfield delivered the following address :

“ Ladies and gentlemen : There are two chapters in the history of this institution. You have heard the one

relating to the founders. They were all pioneers of this Western reserve, or nearly all. They were all men of knowledge and great force of character. Nearly all were not men of means, but they planned this little institution. In 1850, it was a cornfield, with a solid brick building in the centre of it, and that was all. Almost all the rest has been the work of the institution itself.

“Without a dollar of endowment, without a powerful friend anywhere, but with a corps of teachers who were told to go on to the ground and see what they could make out of it, to find their own pay out of the little tuition that they could receive. They invited students of their own spirit to come on the ground and see what they could make of it, and the response has been that many have come, and the chief part of the respondents I see in the faces around and before me to-day. It was a simple question of sinking or swimming for themselves. And I know that we are all inclined to be a little clannish over our own. We have, perhaps, a right to be; but I do not know of any place, I do not know of any institution that has accomplished more with so little means as has this school on Hiram Hill.

“I know of no place where the doctrine of self-help has a fuller development, by necessity as well as finally by choice, as here on this hill. The doctrine of self-help and of force has the chief place among these men and women around here. As I said a great many years ago about that, the act of Hiram was to throw its young men and women overboard and let them try it for themselves; and all those men able to get ashore got ashore, and I think we have few cases of drowning anywhere.

“ Now, I look over these faces, and I mark the several geological changes remarked by Mr. Atwater so well in his address; but in the few cases of change of geological fact there is, I find, no fossils. Some are dead and glorified in our memories, but those who are not are alive—I think all.

“ The teachers and the students of this school built it up in every sense. They made the cornfield into Hiram Campus. Those fine groves you see across the road, they planted. I well remember the day when they turned out into the woods to find beautiful maples, and brought them in; when they raised a little purse to purchase evergreen; when each young man, for himself one, and perhaps a second for some young lady, if he was in love, planted two trees on the campus, and then named them after himself. There are several here to-day who remember Bolen. Bolen planted there a tree, and Bolen has planted a tree that has a lustre—Bolen was shot through the heart at Winchester.

“ There are many here that can go and find the tree that you have named after yourself. They are great, strong trees to-day, and your names, like your trees, are, I hope, growing still.

“ I believe outside of or beyond the physical features of the place, that there was a stronger pressure of work to the square inch in the boilers that run this establishment than any other that I know of, and, as has been so well said, that has told all the while with these young men and women. The struggle, wherever the uncouth and untutored farmer boys—a farmer, of course—that came here to try themselves and find what kind of people

they were. They came here to go on a voyage of discovery. Your discovery was yourselves, in many cases. I hope the discovery was a fortune, and the friendships then formed out of that have bound this group of people longer and farther than most any other I have known in life. They are scattered all over the United States, in every field of activity, and if I had time to name them, the sun would go down before I had finished.

“I believe the rules of this institution limits us to time—I think it is said five minutes. I may have overgone it already. We have so many already that we want to hear from, we will all volunteer. We expect now to wrestle awhile with the work before us. Some of these boys remember the time when I had an exercise that I remember with pleasure. I called a young lad out in a class and said, in two minutes you are to speak to the best of your ability on the following subject (naming it), and gave the subject and let him wrestle with it. I was trying a theory, and I believe that wrestling was a good thing. I will not vary the performance save in this. I will call you and restrict you to five minutes, and let you select your theme about the old days of Hiram.

“Now, we have a grave judge in this audience, who wandered away from Hiram into the forty-second regiment into the South, and, after the victory, stayed there. I will call now, not as a volunteer man, but as a drafted man, Judge Clark, of Mississippi.”

There were other speeches, and early in the evening General Garfield, amid loud cheers, bid adieu to Hiram, and drove to his home in Mentor.

On the morning of the 12th, General Garfield was

given a rousing reception by the citizens of Mentor, at the Lake Shore Railroad depot, where they had erected an arch in his honor. Immediately after dinner, General Garfield stepped into a carriage, with his near friend and neighbor, Dr. J. P. Robinson, and drove toward Painesville, where another reception by the Lake county people was to take place at Ryder's Hotel, a half-way house between Painesville and Mentor. A band of music and a procession of carriages met him. Mayor J. B. Burroughs, of Painesville, brother of Congressman Burroughs, of Michigan, and Mr. A. T. Tinker, president of the Painesville Garfield Club, were in the van. These two gentlemen entered the general's carriage amid loud cheers. As they passed Lake Erie Seminary, the pupils waved handkerchiefs and applauded General Garfield. The procession increased in size and marched through the principal streets of Painesville, finally bringing up at the public square, where there was a throng of people.

Mayor Burroughs introduced General Garfield, who, after the applause had subsided, spoke as follows :

“Fellow Citizens and Neighbors of Lake County : I am exceedingly glad to know that you care enough to come out on a hot day like this in the midst of your busy work to congratulate me. I know it comes from the hearts of as noble a people as lives on the earth. [Cheers.] In my somewhat long public services there never has been a time, in however great difficulties I may have been placed, that I could not feel the strength that came from resting back upon the people of the Nineteenth district. To know that they were behind me with their intelligence, their critical judgment, their

confidence and their support was to make me strong in everything I undertook that was right. I have always felt your sharp, severe, and just criticism, and my worthy, noble, supporting friends always did what they believed was right. I know you have come here to-day not altogether, indeed not nearly, for my sake, but for the sake of the relations I am placed in to the larger constituency of the people of the United States. It is not becoming in me to speak nor shall I speak one word touching politics. I know you are here to-day without regard to politics. I know you are all here as my neighbors and my friends, and as such I greet you and thank you for this candid and gracious welcome. [Cheers.] Thus far in my life I have sought to do what I could according to my light. More than that I could never hope to do. All of that I shall try to do, and if I can continue to have the good opinion of my neighbors of this district, it will be one of my greatest satisfactions. I thank you again, fellow-citizens, for this cordial and generous welcome." (Applause and cheers.)

Mr. Tinker delivered a formal speech of reception and was followed by Dr. Robinson, Judge Reuben Hitchcock, and William Slade. General Garfield then shook hands with hundreds of enthusiastic people, and at dusk left for his home, where he remained quietly over Sunday.

On Sunday he attended church in the morning, and was the centre of attraction for hundreds of country eyes. After dinner he endeavored to answer some of the vast amount of letters that have accumulated, but no sooner had he written a few lines than some callers would in-

errupt him. Many from the surrounding towns and country drove to Mentor to look at the general, and at least to shake hands, if not to converse at length, and none could be absolutely turned away. The general was called on in the evening by friends from far off Cleveland.

On the morning of the 14th, General Garfield left Mentor for Washington City. He arrived at Youngstown early in the forenoon and there took the through train on the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Road and arrived in Pittsburgh at 8.27 P. M. He telegraphed the Baltimore and Ohio authorities, and they held back the through express from 7.55 to 8.35 for him. The passenger agent of the Pittsburgh and Lake Erie drove him to the Baltimore and Ohio depot, where, notwithstanding his efforts to avoid recognition, a little crowd soon congregated. "I will not be interviewed," he said, in response to a reporter. Then he received the congratulations of a long line of admirers and friends, who shook his hand as he passed on through the car. While he was yet returning thanks the train pulled out of the depot, his admirers dismounted and the general was left to the mercy of the newspaper men who stuck by him. He was far more anxious to interview than to be interviewed. He fired questions thick and fast. Buried in the seclusion of his own home he had not heard the report of Tilden's withdrawal, and when informed of the report he went into a deep study for an instant. He was exceedingly anxious to know how the news of his nomination was received in this neighborhood, and when informed that the enthusiasm was intense he appeared

greatly gratified. He stated that he had received a grand ovation at Youngstown and other points along the line, considering that he had striven to keep his journey quiet. When the train reached Hazlewood, on the Baltimore and Ohio Road, within the city limits, a stop was made so that the general could show himself to the Garfield Club of that ward. Three rousing cheers were given for the nominee, and the general returned thanks. The cheers were renewed as the train pulled out.

Washington was reached the next day, and during the remainder of the session of Congress Gen. Garfield devoted himself to his duties as a member of the House.

On the evening of the 16th of July, a serenade was given to General Garfield, at his quarters at the Riggs House, by the National Veteran Association. The portico of the Riggs House was tastefully draped with flags and bunting, and the surrounding streets were brilliantly illuminated with calcium lights, while at frequent intervals rockets and other fireworks were set off from the steps of the Treasury Department. As the procession filed past cheers were given for Garfield, and as that gentleman appeared on the platform, accompanied by ex-Secretary Robeson and Attorney-General Devens, they were renewed. General Devens made a short speech, in which he referred to the great Republican Presidents, Lincoln, Grant, and Hayes, and each name was greeted with cheers. He then introduced General Garfield as a soldier whose shield is unsoiled and whose sword is spotless; a statesman on whom rests no stain or dishonor; a Christian gentleman, respecting the rights of every man because he himself is kind, considerate, and self-respecting

always. General Garfield returned thanks for the demonstration and said :

“ I cannot at this time utter a word on the subject of general politics. I would not mar the cordiality of this welcome, to which to some extent all are gathered, by any reference except to the present moment and its significance; but I wish to say that a large portion of this assemblage to-night are my comrades, late of the war for the Union. For them I can speak with entire propriety, and can say that these very streets heard the measured tread of your disciplined feet years ago, when the imperilled Republic needed your hands and your hearts to save it. And you came back with your numbers decimated, but those you left behind were immortal and glorified heroes forever; and those you brought back came carrying, under tattered banners and in bronzed hands, the ark of the covenant of your Republic in safety out of the bloody baptism of the war [cheers]; and you brought it in safety to be saved forever by your valor and the wisdom of your brethren who were at home, and by this you were again added to the great civil army of the Republic. I greet you, comrades and fellow-soldiers and the great body of distinguished citizens who are gathered here to-night, who are the strong stay and support of the business, of the prosperity, of the peace, of the civic ardor and glory of the Republic, and I thank you for your welcome to-night. It was said in a welcome to one who came to England to be a part of her glory—and all the nation spoke when it was said :

‘ Normans and Saxons and Danes are we,
But all of us Danes in our welcome of thee ;’

and we say to-night of all the nation, of all the people, soldiers and civilians, there is one name that welds us all into one, it is the name of American citizen, under the Union and under the glory of the flag that led us to victory and to peace. [Applause.] For this magnificent welcome, I thank you with all there is in my heart."

Loud cheers were then given for General Garfield as he retired from the platform, and his place was taken by other speakers.

Upon the adjournment of Congress, General Garfield returned to his home at Mentor.

The Fourth of July falling on Sunday, the citizens of Lake County celebrated the third in its place, and on that day dedicated, at Painesville, their beautiful monument to the memory of the soldiers of the district who fell in defence of the Union. General Garfield was the orator of the day. He said :

"Fellow-Citizens: I cannot fail to respond on such an occasion, in sight of such a monument to such a cause, sustained by such men. [Applause and cheers.] While I have listened to what my friend has said, two questions have been sweeping through my heart. One was 'What does the monument mean?' and the other 'What will the monument teach?' Let me try and ask you for a moment to help me to answer What does the monument mean? Oh, the monument means a world of memories and a world of deeds, and a world of tears, and a world of glories. You know, thousands know, what it is to offer up your life to the country, and that is no small thing, as every soldier knows. Let me put the question to you for a moment.

“Suppose your country, in the awfully embodied form of majestic law, should stand above you and say, ‘I want your life; come up here on the platform and offer it,’—how many would walk up before that majestic presence and say, ‘Here I am; take this life and use it for your great needs?’ [Applause.] And yet almost two million of men made that answer [Applause], and a monument stands yonder to commemorate their answer. That is one of its meanings. But, my friends, let me try you a little farther. To give up life is much, for it is to give up wife and home and child and ambition. But let me test you this way farther. Suppose this awfully majestic form should call out to you and say, ‘I ask you to give up health and drag yourself, not dead, but half alive, through a miserable existence for long years, until you perish and die in your crippled and helpless condition. I ask you to volunteer to do that.’ It calls for a higher reach of patriotism and self-sacrifice, but hundreds of thousands of you soldiers did that. That is what the movement means also. But let me ask you to go one step farther. Suppose your country should say, ‘Come here on this platform, and in my name and for my sake consent to be idiots. [A voice—“Hear, hear!”] Consent that your very brain and intellect shall be broken down into hopeless idiocy for my sake,—how many could be found to make that venture? And yet thousands, and that with their eyes wide open to the horrible consequences, obeyed that call.

“And let me tell how 100,000 of our soldiers were prisoners of war, and many of them, when death was stalking near, when famine was climbing up into their

hearts, and idiocy was threatening all that was left of their intellect, the gates of their prison stood open every day if they would quit, desert their flag, and enlist under the flag of the enemy; and, out of 180,000, not two per cent. ever received the liberation from death, starvation, idiocy, all that might come to them; but they took all these horrors and all these sufferings in preference to going back upon the flag of their country and the glory of its truth. [Applause.] Great God! was ever such measure of patriotism reached by any man on this earth before? [Applause.] That is what your monument means. By the subtle chemistry that no man knows, all the blood that was shed by our brethren, all the lives that were devoted, all the grief that was felt, at last crystallized itself into granite, rendered immortal the great truth for which they died—[applause].—and it stands there to-day; and that is what your monument means.

“Now, what does it teach? What will it teach? Why, I remember the story of one of the old conquerors of Greece who, when he had travelled in his boyhood over the battle-fields where Miltiades had won victories, and set up trophies—returning, he said: ‘These trophies of Miltiades will never let me sleep.’ Why? Something had taught him from the chiselled stone a lesson that he could never forget. And, fellow-citizens, that silent sentinel, that crowned granite column, will look down upon the boys that will walk these streets for generations to come, and will not let them sleep when the country calls them. From the dead lips of the bugler on the field will go out a call that the children of Lake County

will hear after the grave has covered us all and our immediate children. That is the teaching of your monument. That is its lesson, and it is the lesson of endurance for what we believe, and it is the lesson of sacrifices for what we think; the lesson of heroism for what we mean to sustain; and that lesson cannot be lost to a people like this. It is not a lesson of revenge; it is not a lesson of wrath; it is the grand, sweet, broad lesson of the immortality of the truth that we hope will soon cover, as with the grand shekinah of light and glory, all parts of this Republic from the lakes to the gulf. [Applause.]

“ I once entered a house in old Massachusetts, where over its doors were two crossed swords. One was the sword carried by the grandfather of its owner on the field of Bunker Hill, and the other was the sword carried by the English grandsire of the wife on the same field and on the other side of the conflict. Under those crossed swords, in the restored harmony of domestic peace, lived a happy and contented and free family under the light of our Republican liberties. [Applause.] I trust the time is not far distant when under the crossed swords and the locked shields of Americans, North and South, our people shall sleep in peace and rise in liberty, love, and harmony under the union of one flag of the stars and stripes.” (Applause.)

After a short rest at his home, General Garfield forwarded to Senator Hoar, the chairman of the Chicago Convention, the following formal letter of acceptance of his nomination by that body for the Presidency of the United States :

“MENTOR, Ohio, July 10, 1880.

“DEAR SIR:—On the evening of the 8th of June last I had the honor to receive from you, in presence of the committee of which you were chairman, the official announcement that the Republican National Convention at Chicago had that day nominated me for their candidate for President of the United States. I accept the nomination with gratitude for the confidence it implies, and with a deep sense of the responsibilities it imposes. I cordially endorse the principles set forth in the platform adopted by the convention; on nearly all of the subjects of which it treats my opinions are on record among the published proceedings of Congress. I venture, however, to make special mention of some of the principal topics which are likely to become subjects of discussion without reviewing the controversies which have been settled during the last twenty years, and with no purpose or wish to revive the passions of the late war. It should be said that while Republicans fully recognize and will strenuously defend all the rights retained by the people and all the rights reserved to the States, they reject the pernicious doctrine of State supremacy, which so long crippled the functions of the National Government, and at one time brought the Union very near to destruction. They insist that the United States is a nation, with ample power of self-preservation; that its constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land; that the right of the nation to determine the method by which its own legislation shall be created, cannot be surrendered without abdicating one of the fundamental powers of the Government; that the national

laws relating to the election of representatives in Congress shall neither be violated or evaded; that every elector shall be permitted freely and without intimidation to cast his lawful ballot at such election, and have it honestly counted, and that the potency of his vote shall not be destroyed by the fraudulent vote of any other person.

“The best thoughts and energies of our people should be directed to those great questions of national well-being in which all have common interest. Such efforts will soonest restore perfect peace to those who were lately in arms against each other, for justice and good-will will outlast passion, but it is certain that the wounds cannot be completely healed and the spirit of brotherhood cannot fully pervade the whole country until every citizen, rich or poor, white or black, is secure in the free and unqualified enjoyment of every civil and political right guaranteed by the constitution and the laws. Wherever the enjoyment of this right is not assured, discontent will prevail, immigration will cease, and the social and industrial forces will continue to be disturbed by the migration of laborers and the consequent diminution of prosperity. The National Government should exercise all its constitutional authority to put an end to these evils, for all the people and all the States are members of one body, and no member can suffer without injury to all. The most serious evils which now afflict the South arise from the fact that there is not such freedom and toleration of political opinion and action that the minority party can exercise an effective and wholesome restraint upon the party in power. Without such restraint party rule becomes tyrannical and corrupt. The

prosperity which is made possible in the South by its great advantages of soil and climate, will never be realized until every voter can freely and safely support any party he pleases.

“Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular education, without which neither justice nor freedom can be permanently maintained. Its interests are entrusted to the States, and the involuntary action of the people. Whatever help the nation can justly afford should be generously given to aid the States in supporting common schools, but it would be unjust to our people and dangerous to our institutions to apply any portion of the revenues of the nation or of the States to the support of sectarian schools. The separation of the Church and the State in everything relating to taxation should be absolute. On the subject of national finances my views have been so frequently and fully expressed that little is needed in the way of additional statement. The public debt is now so well secured, and the rate of annual interest has been so reduced, by refunding that rigid economy in expenditures and the faithful application of our surplus revenues to the payment of the principal of the debt will gradually but certainly free the people from its burdens and close with honor the financial chapter of the war. At the same time the Government can provide for all its ordinary expenditures, and discharge its sacred obligations to the soldier of the Union and to the widows and orphans of those who fell in its defence.

“The resumption of specie payments, which the Republican party so courageously and successfully accomplished, has removed from the field of controversy many

questions that long and seriously disturbed the credit of the Government and the business of the country. Our paper currency is now as national as the flag, and resumption has not only made it everywhere equal to coin, but has brought into use our store of gold and silver. The circulating medium is more abundant than ever before, and we need only to maintain the equality of all our dollars to insure to labor and capital a measure of value, from the use of which no one can suffer loss. The great prosperity which the country is now enjoying should not be endangered by any violent changes or doubtful financial experiments. In reference to our customs laws a policy should be pursued which will bring revenues to the Treasury, and will enable the labor and capital employed in our great industries to compete fairly in our own markets with the labor and capital of foreign producers. We legislate for the people of the United States, not for the whole world, and it is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor. Our country cannot be independent unless its people, with their abundant natural resources, possess the requisite skill at any time to clothe, arm, and equip themselves for war, and in time of peace to produce all the necessary implements of labor. It was the manifest intention of the founders of the government to provide for the common defence, not by standing armies alone, but by raising among the people a greater army of artisans whose intelligence and skill should powerfully contribute to the safety and glory of the nation.

“Fortunately for the interests of commerce there is

no longer any formidable opposition to appropriations for the improvement of our harbors and great navigable rivers, provided that the expenditures for that purpose are strictly limited to works of national importance. The Mississippi River, with its great tributaries, is of such vital importance to so many millions of people that the safety of its navigation requires exceptional consideration. In order to secure to the nation the control of all its waters, President Jefferson negotiated the purchase of a vast territory extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. The wisdom of Congress should be invoked to devise some plan by which that great river shall cease to be a terror to those who dwell upon its banks, and by which its shipping may safely carry the industrial products of twenty-five millions of people. The interests of agriculture, which is the basis of all our material prosperity, and in which seven-twelfths of our population are engaged, as well as the interests of manufactures and commerce, demand that the facilities for cheap transportation shall be increased by the use of all our great water-courses. The material interests of this country, the traditions of its settlement and the sentiment of our people have led the Government to offer the widest hospitality to emigrants who seek our shores for new and happier homes, willing to share the burdens as well as the benefits of our society, and intending that their posterity shall become an undistinguishable part of our population.

“The recent movement of the Chinese to our Pacific Coast partakes but little of the qualities of such an emigration, either in its purposes or its result. It is too much like an importation to be welcomed without restric-

tion; too much like an invasion to be looked upon without solicitude. We cannot consent to allow any form of servile labor to be introduced among us under the guise of immigration. Recognizing the gravity of this subject, the present administration, supported by Congress, has sent to China a commission of distinguished citizens for the purpose of securing such a modification of the existing treaty as will prevent the evils likely to arise from the present situation. It is confidently believed that these diplomatic negotiations will be successful without the loss of commercial intercourse between the two great powers, which promises a great increase of reciprocal trade and the enlargement of our markets. Should these efforts fail, it will be the duty of Congress to mitigate the evils already felt, and prevent their increase by such restrictions as, without violence or injustice, will place upon a sure foundation the peace of our communities and the freedom and dignity of labor.

“The appointment of citizens to the various executive and judicial offices of the Government is, perhaps, the most difficult of all duties which the constitution has imposed upon the executive. The convention wisely demands that Congress shall co-operate with the executive departments in placing the civil service on a better basis. Experience has proved that, with our frequent changes of administration, no system of reform can be made effective and permanent without the aid of legislation. Appointments to the military and naval service are so regulated by law and custom as to leave but little ground of complaint. It may not be wise to make similar regulations by law for civil service, but without invading the author-

ity or necessary discretion of the executive, Congress should devise a method that will determine the tenure of office, and greatly reduce the uncertainty which makes that service so uncertain and unsatisfactory. Without depriving any officer of his rights, as a citizen, the Government should require him to discharge all his official duties with intelligence, efficiency, and faithfulness.

“To select wisely from our vast population those who are best fitted for the many offices to be filled requires an acquaintance far beyond the range of any one man. The executive should therefore seek and receive the information and assistance of those whose knowledge of the communities in which the duties are to be performed best qualifies them to aid in making the wisest choice. The doctrines announced by the Chicago Convention are not the temporary devices of a party to attract votes and carry an election. They are deliberate convictions resulting from a careful study of the spirit of our institutions, the events of our history, and the best impulses of our people. In my judgment, these principles should control the legislation and administration of the Government. In any event they will guide my conduct until experience points out a better way. If elected, it will be my purpose to enforce strict obedience to the constitution and the laws, and to promote as best I may the interest and honor of the whole country, relying for support upon the wisdom of Congress, the intelligence and patriotism of the people, and the favor of God.

“With great respect, I am, very truly yours,

“To Hon. George F. HOAR,

“J. A. GARFIELD.”

Chairman of the Committee.”

We have now traced the career of General Garfield from his birth to his formal acceptance of the nomination of his party for the Presidency. It is a grand career, and builds up a noble and powerful example to the young men of his country. Here we must leave him. That he will be triumphantly seated in the Presidential chair none who have read this narrative can doubt; and that his administration will be pure and grand is a certainty.

In person General Garfield is six feet high, broad-shouldered, and strongly built. He has an unusually large head, that seems to be three-fourths forehead, light brown hair and beard, large light blue eyes, a prominent nose and full cheeks. He dresses plainly, is fond of broad-brimmed slouch hats and stout boots, eats heartily, cares nothing for luxurious living, is thoroughly temperate in all respects save in that of brain-work, and is devoted to his wife and children, and very fond of his country home. Among men he is genial, approachable, companionable, and a remarkably entertaining talker. •

General Garfield is the possessor of two homes, and his family migrates twice a year. On the corner of Thirteenth and I streets stands his Washington home. It is a very modest and unpretentious mansion of brick, plain and square built, after the manner of its distinguished owner and occupant. Above it, to the north, towers the palatial Franklin school building. On the west is that lovely stretch of rolling turf and shade and shrubbery known as Franklin Square. The residences in the immediate vicinity denote a respectable but by no means fashionable neighborhood. The house is square, with a wing on the east, comprising dining-room and

library. The parlor side-windows look out on the pleasing prospect of the park, while the front commands a corner view of I and Thirteenth streets.

Above all other places of interest in this house, however, is the library. Here is the working-ground of a man of energy and ideas; here the student and scholar lives and has being in the exclusion of the man; here the statesman and politician takes nourishment and flourishes. The room is about twenty-five by fourteen feet, three windows opening south on I street, one to the east. The pattern carpet leaves about three feet of stained floor about the margin. In the centre and under the heavy chandelier is a double walnut office-desk, with an addition of pigeon-holes and boxes and drawers on the end. There is an air of legal brusqueness everywhere, of orderly disorder, as if the owner cared less for general symmetry than for immediate convenience. Half a dozen bookcases occupy the available space against the walls, and two or three thousand books freight their shelves. No two of these cases are alike, of the same height, width or make. It is as if the accumulation had from time to time overflowed the limit of book-room and another case had been hastily procured in which to store the surplus, and then, when that was full, another was added, and so on. Books, books, books! It is the one striking feature of Mr. Garfield's home. They confront one in the hall upon entering, in the parlor and sitting-room and in the dining-room—yes, and even in the bath-room, where documents and speeches are corded up like firewood. I would not be at all surprised if a fair library could be discovered in the kitchen. Among all these books there

is not a trashy volume. They are law and history, biography, poetry, politics, philosophy, government, and standard works of all sorts, the accumulation of years of study and the patient research of the scholar. And these are but a portion of Mr. Garfield's collection, a considerable one being at his country home in Ohio.

Five or six years ago the little cottage at Hiram was sold, and for a time the only residence the Garfields had in his district was a summer house he built on Little Mountain, a bold elevation in Lake County, which commands a view of thirty miles of rich farming country stretched along the shore of Lake Erie. Three years ago he bought a farm in Mentor, in the same county, lying on both sides of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad. Here his family spend all the time when he is free from his duties at Washington. The farm contains about one hundred and twenty acres of excellent land, in a high state of cultivation, and the Congressman finds a recreation, of which he never tires, in directing the field-work and making improvements in the buildings, fences, and orchards. Cleveland is only twenty-five miles away; there is a post office and a railway station within half a mile, and the pretty country town of Painesville is but five miles distant. One of the pleasures of summer life on the Garfield farm is a drive of two miles through the woods to the lake shore and a bath in the breakers.

On this farm General Garfield has built him a new house, which attracts considerable attention and much curiosity from passers by on the Lake Shore Railroad. It cannot be called grand in any sense of the word, but

it will be a pleasant and very convenient country house, superior to the majority along this section of the Ridge road. It is generally of the Gothic style of architecture, but mingled with other styles, so as to form what contractors term a "mixture." A roomy porch extends along the front and part of the side toward Cleveland. Lattice work has been arranged in front for training vines. The house is sixty feet front by fifty deep and two stories and a half high. The apartments are all roomy for a country house, and the wide hallway attracts attention the first thing on entering. General Garfield has marked that section of the plan where the pantry is located, "Plenty of shelves and drawers," and in the rear part of the second floor of the diagram is written "Snuggery for the general." The last mentioned room is rather small, measuring only $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 14 feet. It is to be fitted up with book-shelves, but Garfield will still continue to use as his library the detached building erected a year or two since in the yard northeast of the house.

Two of the best apartments in the eastern and front part of the edifice are being especially fitted up for occupancy by Mrs. Garfield, the mother of the general. The front room has a large old-fashioned fireplace, and the pains taken to make everything comfortable here plainly show the tender feelings of the son for the aged mother. Dr. Robinson noticed the admiration of the writer for this room, and said: "The general thinks everything of his mother. You know he chopped a hundred cords of wood once for \$25, and took the money home to her."

There are few of the timbers of the old house (over which the new has been constructed) now visible, and probably there will be none in sight when the carpets are put down. The cost of the structure will be, when finished, between \$3,500 and \$4,000. This is remarkably slight, when the expense of bringing such workmen as were wanted so far away from the city is considered. The work has been hurried forward with rapidity, particularly within the last few weeks, as it was intended to get it as nearly finished as possible before the general's return from Washington previous to going to the Chicago Convention. Mrs. Garfield was really the architect of the house. A man in Cleveland drew a slight sketch, and Mrs. Garfield filled it out, the general marking in various directions with bold strokes of the pen. When the ideas of the wife had been put on paper the general wrote the following underneath, as a gentle hint to the builders :

“ These plans must stand as above, unless otherwise ordered hereafter. If any part of them is impracticable, inform me soon and suggest change.

“ J. A. GARFIELD.”

“ WASHINGTON, March 6, 1880.”

The general has never been proud or “ stuck up,” the neighbors say, although they thought he might become so when he first moved among them. His wife they characterize as a “ perfect lady,” who, however, is not afraid of work.

General Garfield has five children living, and has lost two, who died in infancy. The two elder boys, Harry

and James, are now at school in New Hampshire. Mary, or Molly, as everybody calls her, is a handsome, rosy-cheeked girl of about twelve. The two younger boys are named Irwin and Abram. The general's mother is still living, and has long been a member of his family. She is an intelligent, energetic old lady, with a clear head and a strong will, who keeps well posted in the news of the day, and is very proud of her son's career, though more liberal of criticism than of praise.

General Garfield's district lies in the extreme north-eastern corner of Ohio, and now embraces the counties of Ashtabula, Trumbull, Geauga, Lake, and Mahoning. His old home county of Portage was detached from it a year ago. With the exception of the coal and iron regions in the extreme southern part, the district is purely a rural one and is inhabited by a population of pure New England ancestry. It is claimed that there is less illiteracy in proportion to the population than in any other district in the United States.

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

GEN. CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and Parentage—College Life—Teaches a Country School—Studies Law—Admitted to Practice—Settles in New York—Marries the Daughter of a Hero—Defends two Fugitive Slaves—Carries his Case to a Triumphant Issue—Appointed Engineer-in-Chief of Governor Morgan's Staff—An Honorable Record—Refuses to accept Presents for his Public Services—His Record on Civil Service Reform—Made Collector of the Port of New York—Puts a stop to Frauds upon the Government—Attempts to fasten Charges of Fraud upon Him are Unsuccessful—Removed from Office by President Hayes—Offered the post of Consul General to Paris—Refuses it—Personal Appearance—Nominated for Vice-President—His Letter of Acceptance.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR, was born in Franklin County, Vermont, on the 5th of October, 1830. He is the oldest of a family of two sons and five daughters. His father, the Rev. Dr. William Arthur, a Baptist clergyman, emigrated from the County of Antrim, in Ireland, to this country, in his eighteenth year, and died in Newtonville, near Albany, New York, October 27, 1875. General Arthur was educated at Union College, and was graduated in the class of '49. After leaving college he taught a country school during two years in Vermont, and then,

having managed by rigid economy to save about \$500, he started for New York, and entered the law office of ex-Judge E. D. Culver as a student. After being admitted to the bar, he formed a partnership with his friend, Henry D. Gardiner, with the intention of practising in the West, but in the end they returned to New York, where they entered upon a successful career almost from the start. General Arthur soon afterwards married the daughter of Lieutenant Herndon, United States Navy, who was lost at sea. Mrs. Arthur died only a short time ago.

In 1852, Jonathan and Juliet Lemmon, Virginian slaveholders, intending to emigrate to Texas, came to New York to await the sailing of a steamer, bringing eight slaves with them. A writ of habeas corpus was obtained from Judge Paine to test the question whether the provisions of the Fugitive Slave law were in force in New York State. Judge Paine rendered a decision holding that they were not, and ordering the Lemmon slaves to be liberated. Henry L. Clinton was one of the counsel for the slaveholders. A howl of rage went up from the South, and the Virginia legislature authorized the Attorney-General of that State to assist in taking an appeal. William M. Evarts and Chester A. Arthur were employed to represent the people, and they won their case, which then went to the Supreme Court of the United States. Charles O'Connor espoused the cause of the slaveholders, but he, too, was beaten by Messrs. Evarts and Arthur, and a long step was taken towards the emancipation of the black race. Another great service was rendered by General Arthur in the same cause in 1856. Lizzie Jennings, a respectable colored woman, was put off a New

York street-car with violence, after she had paid her fare. General Arthur sued on her behalf, and secured a verdict of \$500 damages. The next day the company issued an order to permit colored persons to ride on their cars, and the other car companies quickly followed their example.

General Arthur, previous to the outbreak of the war, was Judge-Advocate of the 2d Brigade of the New York State Militia, and Governor Edwin D. Morgan, soon after his inauguration, selected him to fill the position of Engineer-in-Chief of his staff. In 1861 he held the post of Inspector-General, and soon afterward was advanced to that of Quartermaster-General, which he held until the expiration of Morgan's term of office. No higher encomium can be passed upon him than the mention of the fact that, although the war account of the State of New York was at least ten times larger than that of any other State, yet it was the first audited and allowed in Washington, and without the deduction of a dollar, while the Quartermaster's accounts from other States were reduced from \$1,000,000 to \$10,000,000. During his term of office every present sent to him was immediately returned. Among others, a prominent clothing house offered him a magnificent uniform, and a printing house sent him a costly saddle and trappings. Both gifts were indignantly rejected. When Mr. Arthur became Quartermaster-General he was poor. When his term expired he was poorer still. He had opportunities to make millions unquestioned. Contracts larger than the world had ever seen were at his disposal. He had to provide for the clothing, arming, and transportation of hundred of thousands of men. His own words

in regard to this matter amply illustrate his character. "If I had misappropriated five cents, and on walking down town saw two men talking on the corner together, I would imagine they were talking of my dishonesty, and the very thought would drive me mad."

At the expiration of Governor Morgan's term, Arthur returned to his law practice. Business of the most lucrative character poured in upon him, and the firm of Arthur & Gardiner prospered exceedingly. Much of their work consisted in the collection of war claims and the drafting of important bills for speedy legislation, and a great deal of General Arthur's time was spent in Albany and Washington, where his success won for him a national reputation. For a short time he held the position of counsel to the Board of Tax Commissioners of New York city, at \$10,000 per annum. Gradually he was drawn into the arena of politics. He nominated, and by his efforts elected, the Hon. Thomas Murphy a State Senator. When the latter resigned the collectorship of the port of New York, November 20, 1871, President Grant nominated General Arthur to the vacant position, and four years later, when his term expired, renominated him, an honor that had never been shown to any previous collector in the history of the port. In a letter written to the Secretary of the Treasury, in the winter of 1877, after the New York Custom House Investigating Committee had finished their labors, General Arthur said :

"The subject of civil service reform and the modes of appointment to office is that to which the commission gives most attention. The essential elements of a secret

civil service I understand to be first, permanence in office, which, of course, prevents removals except for cause; second, promotion from the lower to the higher grades, based upon good conduct and efficiency; third, prompt and thorough investigation of all complaints, and prompt punishment of all misconduct. In the face of the misstatements of the commission, and in spite of persistent misrepresentations, I claim that the administration of my office has been characterized by the observance of all these. In this respect I challenge comparison with any department of the Government, and maintain that civil service reform has been more faithfully observed, and more thoroughly carried out, in the New York Custom House than in any other branch or department of the Government, either under the present or under any past national administration. I am prepared to demonstrate the truth of this statement on any fair investigation." He did demonstrate it absolutely from figures and statistics taken from the records of the Custom House, and his letter was unanswerable and has been unanswered. He showed that during his term of over six years in office the percentage of removals was only $2\frac{3}{4}$ against an annual average of 28 per cent. under his three immediate predecessors, and an annual average of about 24 per cent. since 1857, when Collector Schell took office. Of the 923 persons in office prior to his appointment, 531 were still retained on May 1, 1877. As to promotions, Collector Arthur gave statistics which proved that during his whole term the uniform practice was to advance men from the lower to the higher grades, and almost without exception on the recommendation of

the heads of bureaus. All appointments except two to the 100 positions commanding salaries of \$2,000 per year, were made on this plan, and none at all at the instance of outsiders. No such civil service was ever maintained in any other government bureau in the country. It also appeared from the statistics and history of the Custom House, as quoted in the collector's letters, a great number of improvements were introduced during his administration; in fact, that a constant series of reforms were being put into practice. In this connection General Arthur said: "It is not my purpose here to enumerate them all, but I may call your attention to some. The general order system, so called, had been for more than a quarter of a century a constant subject of complaint by the merchants, of investigation by Congress, and of alleged corruption. Since the changes in the system and in the charges for storage introduced five years ago, no whisper of complaint has been heard. By a change in the system of ordering goods for examination, the methods of fraud and corruption by which the Government had lost large sums has been effectually checked. By another change triplicate consular invoices have been for the first time rendered of some value, and frauds in the suppression of invoices and the procurement of appraisement orders, so called, have been stopped. Fraud or misconduct under the former system led to the removal of six or eight officers of the Appraiser's Department. The introduction of a system by which prompt notice is given to merchants of refunds of duties has saved them from imposition and delay in the receipt of moneys due. A change in the liquidating department

has reduced the time needed for the liquidation of entries from months to weeks. Only importers can appreciate the value of this change. The efficiency of the bureau in charge of the public store has been so increased that the complaints of petty pilfering and delays have almost ceased. And in general the efficiency of the entire force, including that immediately under the control of the surveyor, has been so increased as to be greater than at any previous period."

The New York Custom House, during General Arthur's administration, was the best investigated place in the country, but every attempt to find a flaw resulted the same. It came out from each ordeal without a single breath of allegation against its head. It may be that these attempts were made because Collector Arthur stood up so steadfastly for his people. When new administrations come into power, and there are new crowds of office seekers to satisfy, there is apt under such circumstances to be some jarring. It is a fact that the only attempts at violation of the civil service rules were made, not by him, but from Washington. An examination of the Custom House files would reveal many letters from Washington, accompanied by the strongest recommendations, urging the appointment of their bearers to various positions in the New York Custom House, from that of Deputy Collector down. These efforts to violate his system of civil service reform were steadily withstood by Collector Arthur.

General Arthur was admirably fitted to discuss the legal questions continually arising under the manifold revenue laws, and it was his constant habit at the close

of each day's business to carefully go over and settle the many points raised in the correspondence bureau, and by application from merchants. The New York Custom House thus became under his management a reference not only of the Treasury Department, but of nearly all the other Custom Houses in the country, and perhaps no more instructive school could be found than the one where the revenue laws were, under his supervision, daily interpreted.

General Arthur was removed by President Hayes on July 12, 1878, despite the fact that two special committees made searching investigation into his administration, and both reported themselves unable to find anything upon which to base a charge against him. In their pronouncements announcing the change, both President Hayes and Secretary Sherman bore official witness to the purity of his acts while in office. A petition for his retention was signed by every judge of every court in New York, by all the prominent members of the bar, and by nearly every important merchant in the collection district, but this General Arthur himself suppressed. Immediately upon his removal from the New York collectorship, General Arthur was offered by President Hayes the Consul-Generalship at Paris. In a letter acknowledging the tender of the office, General Arthur expressed his appreciation of the compliment, and his regret that his private interests were in such a condition that he could not accept it.

In person General Arthur is over six feet in height, broad-shouldered, athletic, and handsome. He is an ardent disciple of Izaak Walton and a member of the

Restigouche Salmon Fishing Club. He is a man of great culture and wide experience, an able lawyer, with refined tastes, and manners of the utmost geniality.

Although General Arthur's prominence in the party was so great, it was not generally supposed that he would receive either nomination. After the nomination of General Garfield on the 8th of June, the convention adjourned until the afternoon.

The convention began to reassemble at five o'clock.

On the chairman's table stood a large floral effigy of a full-rigged ship floating on a sea of color, in which the name of Garfield was worked in scarlet flowers.

The convention was called to order at 5.30. Lumbar's male quartet, of Chicago, opened the proceedings with the song "My Country 'tis of Thee," eliciting much applause and a recall, to which they responded by giving the comic negro campaign song known as "Old Shady."

When the music ceased Mr. Geary, of Maryland, moved that the convention proceed to receive the nomination for a candidate for Vice-President. Adopted.

On California being called, Mr. Pixley rose to put in nomination by his own delegation a nominee for the second place on the ticket. He commended the nomination of Garfield as a strong one, and urged the importance of nominating an equally strong man for the second place. He named Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, whose career in Congress was most creditable, and to whose wise, humane, and manly course in Paris during the Commune the speaker was an eye-witness, a man whose conduct on that occasion should and would draw to the ticket on which he is placed the great mass of the German vote.

While Mr. Pixley was speaking, Mr. Logan was seen talking to the Ohio delegation, apparently in excited remonstrance against their support of the Washburne movement.

Mr. McCarthy, of New York, seconded Washburne's nomination, but the confusion rendered his utterance nearly unintelligible at the reporters' seats. He was understood, however, to eulogize Washburne's career both at home and abroad, and elicited a cordial and hearty applause from the galleries.

Mr. Robinson, of Connecticut, presented the name of Marshall Jewell, of that State.

Mr. Hicks, of Florida, after an earnest presentation of the sufferings of Republicans in the South, because they had the courage of their convictions, presented the name of Thomas Settle, of Florida [applause], whose nomination would help to break the solid South.

Mr. Harris, of North Carolina, a colored delegate, seconded Mr. Settle's nomination as one that would command general approval in the South, because of his services to the Republican party, and his efforts to secure to all men their equal rights before the law. He was the sledge-hammer with which to break the backbone of the solid South.

Mr. Conger, of Michigan, in accordance with the unanimous vote of the Michigan State Convention, said he would have been glad to present the name of Thomas W. Ferry, but he had a letter from the senator absolutely declining the use of his name, and he asked to have it received and made part of the record. Agreed to.

Mr. Houck, of Tennessee, in obedience to the Repub-

lican convention of that State, and the common sentiment of the Republicans of the South, put in nomination Horace Maynard, of Tennessee.

Mr. Frye was called to the chair.

Mr. Woodford, of New York, said the great majority of the delegates from New York came here with the earnest desire and purpose to secure the nomination of General Grant. In this they had been disappointed, but would give the ticket hearty support. In behalf of many of the New York delegation, he presented the name of Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President.

Mr. Dennison, of Ohio, seconded Arthur's nomination. He embraced the occasion briefly, in the name of the Ohio delegation, to thank the convention for their action in nominating General Garfield.

The chairman read a telegram from Oregon to delegate Scott, announcing that the Republicans carried that State by 1,000 majority yesterday, and that Garfield's nomination excited great enthusiasm.

Mr. Kilpatrick, of New Jersey, seconded Arthur's nomination as one well calculated to secure the vote of New York for the ticket.

Mr. Storrs, of Illinois, on behalf of the majority of the Illinois delegation, supported Arthur's nomination, which would be gratifying to the old guard, which, during thirty-six ballots here, had never wavered in its support of the silent old soldier. (Applause.)

Mr. Lynch (colored), of Mississippi, said for the Southern Grant Republicans, that they willingly and heartily concurred in New York's choice, and hoped it would be ratified by the convention.

A Maryland delegation also seconded Arthur's nomination, and said his delegation would sustain it with a solid vote. He regretted that he could not yet promise that Maryland would give a majority for the ticket in November next, but the nomination already made and the one proposed would give Maryland Republicans the best possible opportunity to battle for a political revolution in that State. (Applause.)

Mr. Filley, of Missouri, announced that his State would give thirty votes to Arthur.

Mr. Chambers, of Texas, presented the name of ex-Governor Davis, of that State, and got a little excited by interruptions of those who called "Time" and "Question." Florida withdrew Settle in favor of Arthur. Mr. Cessna, of Pennsylvania, said his delegation was within two votes of a unit for Arthur.

Mr. White, of Kentucky, said his delegation was a unit for Arthur.

Mr. McCarthy, of New York, withdrew his second to Washburne's nomination, and moved that Arthur's nomination be made by acclamation.

The chair ruled that the roll must be called on this ballot, and that Mr. McCarthy's motion was out of order.

Texas withdrew Mr. Davis's name. Mr. Hoar resumed the chair, and stated that it was in order to suspend the rules by a two-thirds vote.

A delegate moved that the rules be suspended, and the nomination of Mr. Arthur be made by acclamation. The motion to suspend was lost.

Roll was called on the ballot, which resulted as follows :

THE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL BALLOT.

The following is the detailed vote for Vice-President:

STATES.	VOTE.	WASHBURNE.	ARTHUR.	DAVIS.	SETTLE.	JEWELL.	WOODFORD.	BRUCE.	MAYNARD.	ALCORN.
Alabama	20		18			2				
Arkansas	12		12							
California	12	12								
Colorado	6		6							
Connecticut	12					12				
Delaware	6		6							
Florida	8		8							
Georgia	22		22							
Illinois	42	18	24							
Indiana	30	11	5		1	5	1	2	4	
Iowa	22	22								
Kansas	10		10							
Kentucky	24		24							
Louisiana	16		10	2				4		
Maine	14					14				
Maryland	16		16							
Massachusetts	26	22	2			1				
Michigan	22	14	6					1		
Minnesota	10	2	8							
Mississippi	16		11			1				4
Missouri	30		30							
Nebraska	6	6								
Nevada	6	6								
New Hampshire	10	3	3			4				
New Jersey	15	14	3			1				
New York	70	1	69							
North Carolina	20		20							
Ohio	44	2	42							
Oregon	6		6							
Pennsylvania	58	11	47							
Rhode Island	8	8								
South Carolina	14		14							
Tennessee	24								24	
Texas	16	5	9							
Vermont	10	5	4						1	
Virginia	22	2	19			1				
West Virginia	10	9	1							
Wisconsin	20	16	2					1	1	
Carried forward	738	189	457	2	1	41	1	8	30	4

TERRITORIES.	VOTE.	WASHBURNE.	ARTHUR.	DAVIS.	SETTLE.	JEWELL.	WOODFORD.	BRUCE.	MAYNARD.	ALCORN.
Brought forward.....	738	189	457	2	1	41	1	8	30	4
Arizona.....	2					2				
Dakota.....	2		2							
District of Columbia.....	2	1	1							
Idaho.....	2	2								
Montana.....	2	1	1							
New Mexico.....	2		2							
Utah.....	2		2							
Washington.....	2		1			1				
Wyoming.....	2		2							
Totals.....	756	193	468	2	1	44	1	8	30	4

Five delegates did not vote.

Whole number of votes cast.....	751		
Necessary to a choice.....	376		
Washburne.....	193	Davis.....	2
Jewell.....	44	Woodford.....	1
Settle.....	1	Bruce, of Mississippi.....	8
Maynard.....	30	Alcorn, of Mississippi.....	4
Arthur.....	468		

Mr. Frye, in the chair, said that Mr. Arthur, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was the candidate for Vice-President, and inquired, "Shall the nomination be made unanimous?"

Mr. Haymond, of California, moved that it be made unanimous.

Votes of thanks were then passed to the officers of the convention, and the usual committee of one from each State was authorized to apprise the candidates of their nominations, when the convention adjourned *sine die*.

General Arthur was duly informed of his nomination, and accepted it in the following letter :

“NEW YORK, July 15, 1880.

“DEAR SIR:—I accept the position assigned me by the great party whose action you announce. This acceptance implies approval of the principles declared by the Convention, but recent usage permits me to add some expression of my own views. The right and duty to secure honesty and order in popular elections is a matter so vital that it must stand in front. The authority of the National Government to preserve from fraud and force elections at which its own officers are chosen, is a chief point on which the two parties are plainly and intensely opposed. Acts of Congress for ten years have, in New York and elsewhere, done much to curb the violence and wrong to which the ballot and the count have been again and again subjected — sometimes despoiling great cities sometimes stifling the voice of a whole State, often seating, not only in Congress, but on the bench and in legislatures, numbers of men never chosen by the people. The Democratic party since gaining possession of the two houses of Congress has made these just laws the object of bitter, ceaseless assault, and, despite all resistance, has hedged them with restrictions cunningly contrived to baffle and paralyze them. This aggressive majority boldly attempted to extort from the Executive his approval of various enactments destructive of these election laws by revolutionary threats that a constitutional exercise of the veto power would be punished by withholding the appropriations necessary to carry on the Government. And these threats were actually carried out by refusing the needed appropriations, and by forcing an extra session of Congress, lasting for months, and resulting in conces-

sions to this usurping demand, which are likely, in many States, to subject the majority to the lawless will of a minority. Ominous signs of public disapproval alone subdued this arrogant power into a sullen surrender for the time being of a part of its demands. The Republican party has strongly approved the stern refusal of its representatives to suffer the overthrow of statutes believed to be salutary and just. It has always insisted, and now insists, that the Government of the United States of America is empowered and in duty bound to effectually protect the elections denoted by the Constitution as National.

“More than this, the Republican party holds, as a cardinal point in its creed, that the Government should, by every means known to the Constitution, protect all American citizens everywhere in the full enjoyment of their civil and political rights. As a great part of its work of reconstruction, the Republican party gave the ballot to the emancipated slave as his right and defence. A large increase in the number of members of Congress, and of the Electoral College, from the former slaveholding States, was the immediate result. The history of recent years abounds in evidence that in many ways and many places—especially where their number has been great enough to endanger Democratic control—the very men by whose elevation to citizenship this increase of representation was effected, have been debarred and robbed of their voice and their vote. It is true that no State statute or constitution in so many words denies or abridges the exercise of their political rights; but the modes employed to bar their way are no less effectual.

It is a suggestive and startling thought that the increased power derived from the enfranchisement of a race now denied its share in governing the country—wielded by those who lately sought the overthrow of the Government—is now the sole reliance to defeat the party which represented the sovereignty and nationality of the American people in the greatest crisis of our history. Republicans cherish none of the resentments which may have animated them during the actual conflict of arms. They long for a full and real reconciliation between the sections which were needlessly and lamentably at strife; they sincerely offer the hand of good-will, but they ask in return a pledge of good faith. They deeply feel that the party, whose career is so illustrious in great and patriotic achievement, will not fulfil its destiny until peace and prosperity are established in all the land, nor until liberty of thought, conscience and action, and equality of opportunity shall be not merely cold formalities of statute, but living birthrights, which the humble may confidently claim and the powerful dare not deny.

“The resolution referring to the public service seems to be deserving of approval. Surely no man should be the incumbent of an office the duties of which he is, for any cause, unfit to perform, who is lacking in the ability, fidelity, or integrity which a proper administration of such office demands. This sentiment would doubtless meet with general acquiescence, but opinion has been widely divided upon the wisdom and practicability of the various reformatory schemes which have been suggested, and of certain proposed regulations governing appointments to public office. The efficiency of such regulations has been

distrusted, mainly because they have seemed to exalt mere educational and abstract tests above general business capacity, and even special fitness for the particular work in hand. It seems to me that the rules which should be applied to the management of the public service may properly conform, in the main, to such as regulate the conduct of successful private business. Original appointments should be based upon ascertained fitness. The tenure of office should be stable. Positions of responsibility should, so far as practicable, be filled by the promotion of worthy and efficient officers. The investigation of all complaints, and the punishment of all official misconduct, should be prompt and thorough. These views, which I have long held, repeatedly declared, and uniformly applied when called upon to act, I find embodied in the resolution, which, of course, I approve. I will add that, by the acceptance of public office, whether high or low, one does not, in my judgment, escape any of his responsibilities as a citizen, or lose or impair any of his rights as a citizen, and that he should enjoy absolute liberty to think and speak and act in political matters according to his own will and conscience, provided only that he honorably, faithfully, and fully discharges all his official duties.

“The resumption of specie payments—one of the fruits of Republican policy—has brought the return of abundant prosperity, and the settlement of many distracting questions. The restoration of sound money, the large reduction of our public debt and of the burden of interest, the high advancement of the public credit, all attest the ability and courage of the Republican party to

deal with such financial problems as may hereafter demand solution. Our paper currency is now as good as gold, and silver is performing its legitimate function for the purpose of change. The principles which should govern the relations of these elements of the currency are simple and clear. There must be no deteriorated coin, no depreciated paper. And every dollar, whether of metal or paper, should stand the test of the world's fixed standard.

“The value of popular education can hardly be overstated. Although its interests must of necessity be chiefly confided to voluntary effort and the individual action of the several States, they should be encouraged, so far as the Constitution permits, by the generous cooperation of the National Government. The interests of the whole country demand that the advantages of our common school system should be brought within the reach of every citizen, and that no revenues of the nation or of the States should be devoted to the support of sectarian schools.

“Such changes should be made in the present tariff and system of taxation as will relieve any overburdened industry or class, and enable our manufacturers and artisans to compete successfully with those of other lands.

“The Government should aid works of internal improvement, national in their character, and should promote the development of our watercourses and harbors wherever the general interests of commerce require.

“Four years ago, as now, the nation stood at the threshold of a Presidential election, and the Republican party, in soliciting a continuance of its ascendancy,

founded its hope of success, not upon its promises, but upon its history. Its subsequent course has been such as to strengthen the claims which it then made to the confidence and support of the country. On the other hand, considerations more urgent than have ever before existed forbid the accession of its opponents to power. Their success, if success attends them, must chiefly come from the united support of that section which sought the forcible disruption of the Union, and which, according to all the teachings of our past history, will demand ascendancy in the councils of the party to whose triumph it will have made by far the largest contribution.

“There is the gravest reason for apprehension that exorbitant claims upon the Public Treasury, by no means limited to the hundreds of millions already covered by bills introduced in Congress within the past four years, would be successfully urged if the Democratic party should succeed in supplementing its present control of the National Legislation by electing the Executive also.

“There is danger in intrusting the control of the whole law-making power of the Government to a party which has in almost every Southern State repudiated obligations quite as sacred as those to which the faith of the nation now stands pledged.

“I do not doubt that success awaits the Republican party, and that its triumph will assure a just, economical and patriotic administration.

“I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

“C. A. ARTHUR.”

“To Hon. George F. HOAR,

President of the Republican National Convention.”

DO YOU WANT TO MAKE MONEY?

No business pays so well as an agency for popular Histories, and Illustrated Bibles and Biblical works, for they are the class of books that every intelligent person wants, and is always ready to buy. The only difficulty in the matter is to secure a *Valuable and Popular Series of Books*, and such pre-eminently are the works that we are now publishing. No series published will compare with them in *real value, interest, and popularity*.

☞ Being the most extensive subscription book Publishers in the United States, and having four houses, we can afford to sell books cheaper and pay Agents more liberal commissions than any other company.

Our books do not pass through the hands of General Agents, (as nearly all other subscription works do,) therefore we are enabled to give our canvassers the *extra per cent.*, which other publishers allow to General Agents. Experienced canvassers will see the advantages of dealing directly with the publishers.

☞ By engaging in this business young men will *educate* themselves in that knowledge of the country, and of men and things, which is acquired only by traveling and observation, and which is recognized by all as essential to every business man.

Old agents, and all others who want the *Best Paying Agencies*, will please send for circulars and see our terms, and compare them, and the character of our works, with those of other publishers.

Address, **NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO.,**

At either of the following Places, (whichever is nearest to you):

724, 726 & 728 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Pa.

116 East Randolph Street, Chicago, Ill.

420 Market Street, St. Louis, Mo.

20 Decatur St., Atlanta, Ga.

☞ The following pages contain a Catalogue of some of our most valuable and popular Works, a specimen copy of either of which will be sent by mail, postage paid, to any address, on receipt of price.

NEW DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL

PICTORIAL FAMILY BIBLE.

With over 2500 Fine Scripture Illustrations.

GUR DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL PICTORIAL FAMILY BIBLE is the most perfect and comprehensive edition ever published in this country.

In addition to the Old and New Testaments, Apocrypha, Concordance and Psalms in Metre, it contains a large amount of explanatory matter, compiled with great care, and furnishing a complete encyclopedia of Biblical knowledge.

The following are among its leading features:

1. A comprehensive and critical History of all the Books of the Bible.
2. A very elegant and elaborate Marriage Certificate, with designs, etc., in seven colors.
3. A History of all the existing Religious Denominations in the world, and the various Sects, both ancient and modern.
4. Beautifully illuminated pages of the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments.
5. A very unique Family Record for Marriages, Births and Deaths, printed in colors.
6. The History of the Translation of the English Bible.
7. A handsome Photograph Album for sixteen Portraits, printed in colors.
8. A complete and practical household Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography and Natural History, by the great Biblical scholar, William Smith, LL. D. Expounding every subject mentioned in the Bible.
Special attention is called to the great value of this feature. Dr. Smith's is everywhere conceded to be the most comprehensive and valuable Bible Dictionary ever published.
9. Over 2500 fine Scripture Illustrations, accurately showing the Manners and Customs of the Period, Biblical Antiquities and Scenery, Natural History, etc., etc.
10. Topographical Sketch of the Holy Land, with Maps and Panoramic views of the country as occupied by the different tribes.
11. Illustrations of Jerusalem and its environs, showing the Holy City as it appeared in the time of David and again in the time of Christ. The Mount of Olives, Mount Zion, etc.
12. The Wanderings in the Wilderness, with Map and Illustrations showing the Wilderness of Sinai, the Camp of the Israelites, Standards of the Twelve Tribes, etc.
13. Illustrations of the Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple, with plans, altars, ark, golden candlestick, brazen laver, breastplate, molten sea, and the high priest in his various offices.
14. Illustrations of scenes and incidents in the Life of Christ.
15. The Cities and Towns of the Bible, showing all the important places in Palestine.
16. Scenes in the Lives of the Patriarchs, Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament.
17. Illustrations of the Animals, Birds, Insects, Reptiles, etc., mentioned in the Bible.
18. Illustrations of the prominent events in the Life of St. Paul.
19. Illustrations of the trees, plants and flowers of the Bible.
20. Fac-similes of Ancient Coins, with a description of each, including the Hebrew, Greek and Roman coins, with their value in gold.
21. A Harmony of the Four Gospels, and Analysis of the Bible.
22. A Table of contents of the Old and New Testaments, so arranged that any subject or occurrence mentioned in the Bible can be readily referred to.
23. A Plan showing how the Bible may be read through in a year.
24. A Table showing how the earth was re-peopled by the descendants of Noah.
25. Nearly One Hundred Thousand Marginal References and Readings.
26. A Chronological Table, showing the principal events of Jewish and contemporaneous History, from the creation of the world to the present time.
27. A Table of the Kings and Prophets of Judah and Israel, arranged in parallels.

The following are specimens of letters that we have received from Clergymen and from Agents who are selling our Bible:

REV. W. S. BLACK, of Monroe, Union Co., N. C., writes:—"Every person is delighted with your Bible. It is the most complete, and gives more entire satisfaction than any other Bible I ever saw. I sold 11 copies in one day, 13 in another, and 17 in another, mostly in the finest style of binding."

REV. J. G. MONFORT, D. D., of Cincinnati, O., writes:—"This Family Bible is of inestimable value. Its pictures impress sacred characters and scenes upon the imagination, and its maps, tables and marginal references make it the best of all Commentaries. Let no family that can afford it be without this large, well-printed, handsomely-bound and illustrated copy of the Word of God."

THE
PICTORIAL HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES,

FROM
THE DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Embracing an Account of the Mound Builders; the American Indians; the Discoveries and Explorations of the Norsemen, Spaniards, English, and French; the Settlement of the New World; the French and Indian Wars; the Declaration of Independence and the Struggle of the Revolution; the Second War with England; the Mexican War; the Long Period of Peace; the History of our Great Civil War, and the Reconstruction of the Union under President Hayes.

BY JAMES D. McCABE,—THE WELL-KNOWN HISTORIAN.

EMBELLISHED WITH OVER 500 FINE HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

THIS work has taken rank as the Standard History of the United States. It is no dry mass of details—no bombastic effort to inflame the national pride, but a clear, vivid and brilliant narrative of the events of our history, from the discovery of the American Continent down to the present time. It gives a most interesting account of the Indians of North America, from the time of the coming of the white men. The voyages of Columbus and the discoveries and explorations of the different nations of Europe are related with graphic power.

Every step of our colonial history is traced with patient fidelity, and the sources of those noble, and we trust, enduring institutions which have made our country free and great, are shown with remarkable clearness. Then follows a clear and succinct account of our great Struggle for Independence, the formation of the Federal Constitution, and the establishment of the Union. The events of our career, from the close of the Revolution to the commencement of the Civil War, follow in their order. The History of our Great Civil War is related with intense vigor, and with strict fidelity to truth.

CONDITIONS:

It is comprised in one large Octavo volume of *1120 pages*, embellished with over *500* fine Historical Engravings, and will be furnished to subscribers, in neat and substantial binding, at the following prices:

In Extra Fine Satin Cloth,.....at \$3.75 per copy.

In Library Style, (Morocco Back and Corners,) at 4.50 " "

AGENTS WANTED.—The great desire everywhere manifested to obtain this work, and the low price at which it is sold, combined with the very liberal commissions, make it the best opportunity for Agents to make money ever offered. They are meeting with unprecedented success, selling from *Twelve to Twenty* copies per day.

SEND FOR OUR EXTRA TERMS TO AGENTS, AND A FULL DESCRIPTION OF THE WORK.

Address,

National Publishing Co.,

This very interesting and valuable work will be sent to any address, postage paid, on receipt of Price.

CREATIVE AND SEXUAL SCIENCE;

INCLUDING

Manhood, Womanhood, and their Mutual Inter-Relations;

LOVE: ITS LAWS, POWER, ETC.

By Prof. O. S. Fowler.

The work treats of "SEXUAL SCIENCE," which is simply that great code of natural laws by which men and women are governed in their mutual relations. A knowledge of these laws is of the highest importance, and it is the general ignorance of them which wrecks so many lives that would otherwise be happy.

OF LOVE, showing how it affects every relation in life; how, when properly applied, it is the great promoter of health and happiness; and how, when misdirected or thwarted, it is the source of sorrow, sickness, vice, and death.

OF LOVE MAKING AND SELECTION, showing how love affairs should be conducted, and revealing the laws which govern male and female attraction and repulsion; what qualities make a good, and a poor, husband or wife, and what given persons should select and reject; what forms, sizes, etc., may, and must not, intermarry.

OF MARRIAGE, its sacredness and necessity; of perfect and miserable unions; and of all that it is necessary to know concerning this most important relation in life.

OF BEARING AND NURSING.—This portion being a complete encyclopædia for prospective mothers, showing how to render confinement easy, and manage infants.

OF SEXUAL RESTORATION.—This is a very important part of the work; because almost all men and women, if not diseased, are run down. The laws of sexual recuperation are here, for the first time, unfolded, and the whole subject thoroughly and scientifically treated; giving the cause and cure of female ailments, seminal losses, sexual impotence, etc.

IT TELLS

- How to promote sexual vigor, the prime duty of every man and woman.
- How to make a right choice of husband or wife; what persons are suited to each other.
- How to judge a man or woman's sexual condition by visible signs.
- How young husbands should treat their brides; and how to increase their love.
- How to avoid an improper marriage, and how to avoid female ailments.
- How to increase the joys of wedded Life, and how to increase female passion.
- How to regulate intercourse between man and wife, and how to make it healthful to both; ignorance of this law is the cause of nearly all the woes of marriage.
- How to have fine and healthy children, and how to transmit mental and physical qualities to offspring.
- How to avoid the evils attending pregnancy.
- How intercourse out of wedlock is injurious; a warning to young men.
- How to restore and perpetuate female beauty, and how to promote the growth of the female bust.

There is scarcely a question concerning the most serious duties of life which is not fully and satisfactorily answered in this book. Such a work has long been needed, and will be found invaluable to every man and woman who has arrived at the years of discretion. It should be read especially by the married, and by those who have the care of children, and it will carry happiness with it wherever it goes.

The book is pure and elevated in tone; eloquent in its denunciations of vice; and forcible in its warnings against the secret sins which are practised with impunity in nearly every community.

CONDITIONS:

It is comprised in one large royal octavo volume of 1065 pages, illustrated with nearly 200 appropriate engravings, prepared under the personal supervision of the author, and furnished to subscribers

In Extra Fine Ruby Cloth, - - - at \$3.75 per Copy.

In Fine Leather, (Library Style,) - - - at \$4.50 "

AGENTS WANTED—Send for circulars containing extra terms to Agents, and a fuller description of the work.

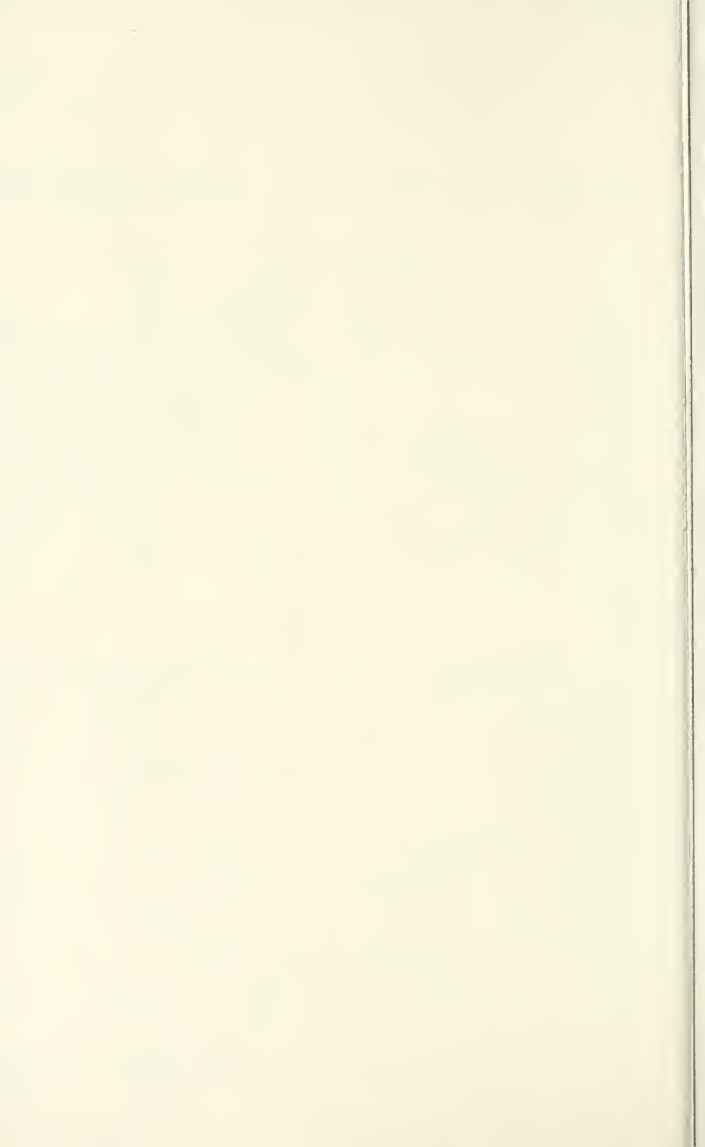
LRBJe 16

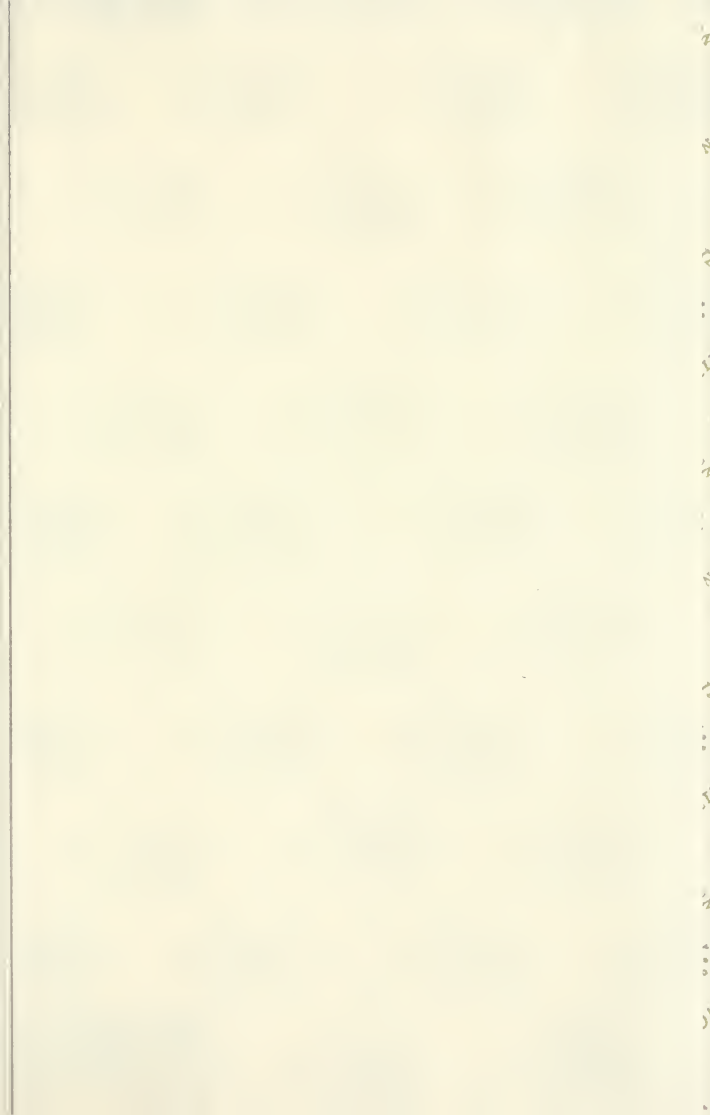
Address,

NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO.,

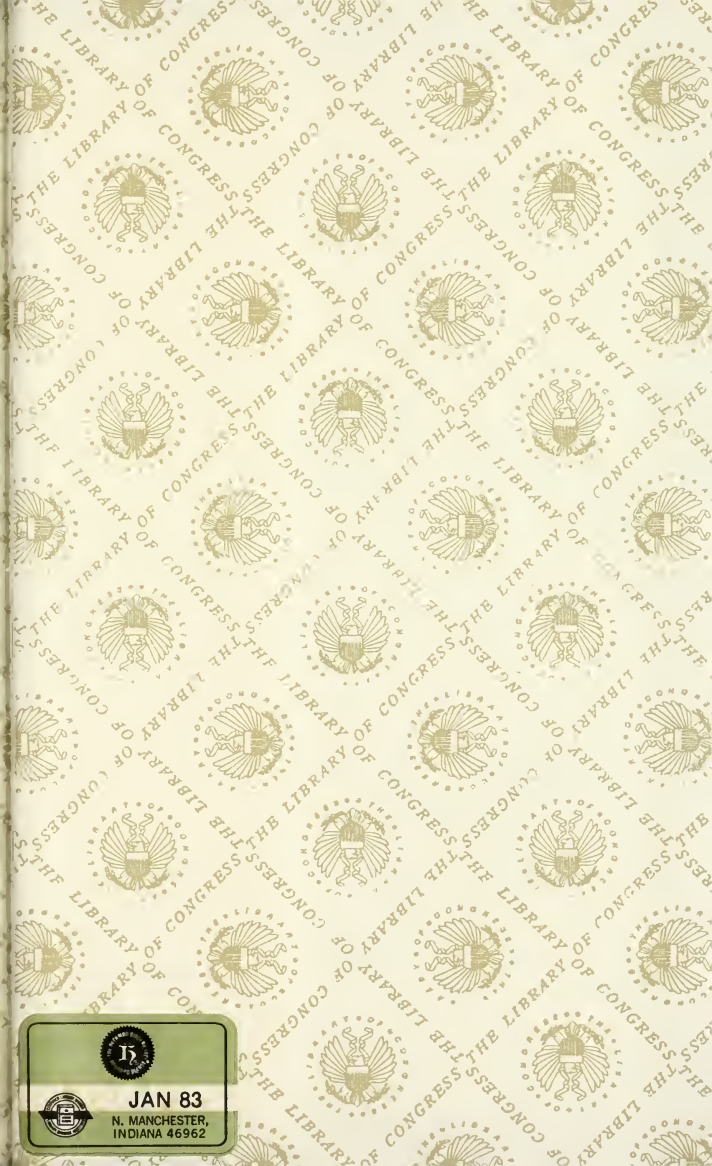
PHILADELPHIA, PA.; CHICAGO, ILL.; ST. LOUIS, MO.; or ATLANTA, GA.











JAN 83

N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA 46962



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 013 785 723 6 •